

Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters

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The issue of liturgical influence on the illustration of Byzantine marginal psalters is well known in scholarly literature. In this article I focus on the ninth-century psalters, and suggest that the influence of liturgical practice on their illustration was more extensive and systematic than previously recognized. My analysis offers some insight into the creation of these manuscripts, and also looks at the role of the liturgy in the experience and expression of the people who created and used the psalters. I conclude that the importance of liturgical sources in the illustration of the ninth-century marginal psalters was closely related to the pro-Orthodox and specifically iconophile message that this illustration was designed to promote.

Although the Greek word *λειτουργία* refers exclusively to the Eucharist (the Mass), the term *liturgy* will be used here to refer to any regular church service (while the term *Divine Liturgy* will be used for the Eucharist alone).¹ Church sacraments like baptism and exorcism,

which are among the most important ritual activities performed in Christian practice, will also be considered.

The psalter played a major role in Byzantine liturgy, and more than any other sacred text determined the structure of the liturgical rite.² An investigation of liturgical influence on psalter illustration is

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1 On this issue, see N. Patterson Ševčenko, “Illuminating the Liturgy: Illustrated Service Books in Byzantium,” in *Heaven on Earth: Art and the Church in Byzantium*, ed. L. Safran (University Park, PA, 1998), 195.

2 G. Galavaris, “Manuscripts and the Liturgy,” in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1973), 20, 22–23. O. Strunk, “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia,” *DOP* 9–10 (1955–56): 181 (repr. in idem, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* [New York, 1977], 117–18). Following Strunk, I argue that the use of psalm verses or entire psalms throughout the liturgy was the factor that above all others determined the organization of the texts used (it did not determine what was done and what was celebrated).

consequently very complicated, especially for the ninth-century psalters, whose miniatures demonstrate an outstanding richness of references.³ These are the so-called Chludov Psalter,⁴ Pantokrator Psalter,⁵ and Paris marginal Psalter.⁶ Dated shortly after the final defeat of the iconoclasts in 843, these three manuscripts are the first surviving examples in a group of nine Byzantine marginal psalters (so named because miniatures were painted primarily in the margins of their folios).⁷ The six later codices follow to a large extent

the iconographic tradition first attested in the three ninth-century manuscripts.⁸ The illustration of these early psalters has been shown to have links with patristic psalm commentaries, homiletic and hymnographic literature, and works of pro-Orthodox and specifically iconophile polemics, as well as liturgical sources.⁹ The complexity of references, visual sophistication, and iconophile overtones that characterize their illustration, in addition to the representation of the iconophile patriarch of Constantinople Nikephoros I (806–815) and his iconoclast opponent John the Grammarian in a

3 The most comprehensive publication on this issue, with reference to extensive scholarly literature, is by K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge, 1992).

4 Cod. 129 of the State Historical Museum, Moscow. Facsimile edition by M. V. Ščepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977). For a more recent facsimile edition published after the recent restoration of the manuscript see *Salterio Chludov*, Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de Moscú (Madrid, 2006). From now on, when I mention folios of this codex, I omit references to these facsimile editions.

5 Cod. 61 of the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos, Greece. Published by S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge*, vol. 1, *Pantokrator 61, Paris grec. 20, British Museum 40731*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 1 (Paris, 1966), 7–37, pls. 1–33; colored photographs of some miniatures in *Οι Θησαυροί του Αγίου Όρους: Είκοσιον γραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, ed. S. Pelekanidou et al. (Athens, 1973–79), 3:265–80, pls. 180–237; see also J. Anderson, “The Palimpsest Psalter, Pantokrator Cod. 61: Its Content and Relationship to the Bristol Psalter,” *DOP* 48 (1994): 199–220; idem, “Further Prolegomena to a Study of the Pantokrator Psalter: An Unpublished Miniature, Some Restored Losses, and Observations on the Relationship with the Chludov Psalter and Paris Fragment,” *DOP* 52 (1998): 305–21.

6 Cod. gr. 20, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Published by Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 40–46, pls. 34–46.

7 The other six marginal psalters are as follows:

1. The early eleventh-century Bristol Psalter, British Library, Add. 40731, published by Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 48–66, pls. 47–60. See also L. Brubaker, “The Bristol Psalter,” in *Through a Glass Brightly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archeology Presented to David Buckton*, ed. C. Entwistle (Oxford, 2003), 127–41, with reference to earlier scholarly literature.

2. The eleventh-century (dated 1066) Theodore Psalter, British Library, Add. 19352, published by S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge*, Londres, Add. 19.352, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 5 (Paris, 1970), and C. Barber, ed., *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile* (University of Illinois Press in association with the British Library, 2000).

3. The eleventh-century Barberini Psalter, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. gr. 372, published by J. Anderson, P. Canart, and C. Walter, *The Barberini Psalter: Codex Vaticanus*

Barberinianus Graecus 372 (Zurich–New York, 1989).

4. The eleventh-century Sinai Psalter, Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, 48, discussed by K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts* (Princeton, 1990), 1:83–87, figs. 232–70 (cat. 30) with reference to earlier literature.

5. The late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century Baltimore Psalter, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 733, catalogued by G. R. Parpulov, “A Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of the Walters Art Museum,” *JWalt* 62 (2004): 71–189, esp. 143–47, 173–74; discussed by J. C. Anderson, “The State of the Walters’ Marginal Psalter and Its Implications for Art History,” *JWalt* 62 (2004): 35–44, with reference to earlier literature. I thank Dr. Parpulov for providing me these two references.

6. The early fourteenth-century Greek and Latin Hamilton Psalter, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, 78A 9, discussed by C. Havice, “The Hamilton Psalter in Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett 78.A.9” (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1978); eadem, “The Marginal Miniatures in the Hamilton Psalter (Kupferstichkabinett 78.A.9),” *JbBM* 26 (1984): 79–142.

8 For example, see Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter*, 40–52, for the relationship of the Theodore and Barberini Psalters to the Chludov Psalter. The Bristol Psalter is related to the Pantokrator Psalter and to the tradition of psalter illustration before the ninth century. See S. Dufrenne, “Le Psautier de Bristol et les autres psautiers byzantins,” *CahArch* 14 (1964): 159–82, and Anderson, “Palimpsest Psalter” (n. 5 above). The fourteenth-century Slavonic Kiev Psalter, St. Petersburg, Public Library, 1252 F VI, published in a facsimile edition by G. Vzdornov, *Issledovanie o Kievskoi Psaltiri* (Moscow, 1978), follows the same iconographic tradition attested in the Chludov and Theodore Psalters. For comparative records on the illustration of these and some other psalters, see S. Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 psautiers médiévaux* (Paris, 1978).

9 For some examples, see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* (n. 3 above), 27–90. Various cases are also discussed by M. Evangelatou, “The Illustration of the Ninth-Century Byzantine Marginal Psalters: Layers of Meaning and Their Sources” (PhD diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, 2002), 47–237; eadem, “The Holy Sepulchre and Iconophile Arguments on Relics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters,” in *Eastern Christian Relics*, ed. A. Lidov (Moscow, 2003), 181–204.

number of miniatures,¹⁰ have led Byzantinists to place the commissioners and users of these psalters in the patriarchal circle of the Byzantine capital. Prominent personages who have been named as possible owners or contributors to the conception of the psalters are Patriarchs Methodios (843–847) and Photios (858–867 and 877–886); the bishop of Syracuse Gregory Asbestos, friend to both patriarchs and himself a painter; and the chief advisor of Methodios, Michael Synkellos.¹¹ Even though it is impossible to prove beyond doubt the involvement of any of these people in the commission of the ninth-century marginal psalters, it is certain that these manuscripts were produced for high-ranking churchmen: people whose education, theological interests, and daily involvement in the affairs of the Church and the mysteries of the faith would enable them to identify and appreciate the numerous references of the psalters' illustration to patristic literature, iconophile polemics, and liturgical practice. The material I discuss here offers additional evidence on the rich theological and liturgical references of these psalters, and therefore reinforces the hypothesis that they were addressed to a sophisticated audience of churchmen.

The clearest indication that the production of the ninth-century marginal psalters responded to liturgical practice comes from their text: all three manuscripts

have prominent liturgical notations.¹² In addition, the last pages of the Chludov Psalter (folios 165r to 167v) preserve a collection of prayers, almost all of which are employed in the liturgy.¹³ (Unfortunately, the last parts of the other two psalters do not survive.) This evidence suggests that the commissioners and producers of these three psalters wanted to accommodate their use in the liturgical celebration, although they also intended them for other purposes. As their rich illustration clearly indicates, these psalters were also destined for private devotion and meditation, and it is exactly this purpose that prompted the production of such sophisticated corpora of miniatures. However, since these manuscripts were made also for liturgical use, it is likely that the illustration might also reflect and further serve this purpose.

Scholars have discussed the relationship between the illustration of these codices and the liturgy in different ways. More than a century ago, Johan Tikkanen was the first to recognize that most of the Christological and Mariological episodes shown in the Byzantine marginal psalters illustrate psalm verses that were chanted on the relevant feast days. He saw this as indicating extensive liturgical influence on the illustration of the codices. He noted that some of these verses were also quoted in the New Testament and/or in patristic commentaries as prophecies of the same Christological and Mariological episodes, but he did not systematize his findings to determine which of the above factors, liturgical or biblical/patristic influence, was more decisive in the shaping of marginal psalter illustration.¹⁴

In 1986, Christopher Walter attempted to answer this question by composing an exhaustive inventory of the Christological miniatures in these manuscripts. He examined eighty Christological episodes and grouped them into five categories on the basis of the sources of influence that he identified.¹⁵ According to

10 Chludov Psalter, fols. 23v, 35v, 51v; Pantokrator Psalter, fols. 16r, 165r. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 27–34, 120–21, figs. 38–39, 43–44, III.

11 For an extensive discussion and further literature on the date and historical context, with reference to the specific people mentioned here, see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 124–34. She convincingly argues that a relationship between the three psalters and the circle of Methodios is more probable than a connection with Photios. Recently J. Anderson has suggested that Methodios was the inventor of the Greek illustrated psalter and that the archetype he created was the Paris marginal Psalter. Anderson dates this codex to Methodios's Roman exile in 815–21 and proposes that a Western, illustrated psalter could have been his source of inspiration. He also states that the Chludov and Pantokrator Psalters date much later, in the late 9th or early 10th c. (See "The Creation of the Marginal Psalters," in *Ritual and Art: Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walter*, ed. P. Armstrong [London, 2006], 44–65.) In my opinion, none of Anderson's arguments are convincing. The proposed dating and chronological distance between the three psalters is problematic for various reasons, and there is no way to prove or disprove that there was a preexisting tradition of psalter illustration in Byzantium (which is rather plausible, given the exceptional importance of this book in private devotion as well as a number of iconographic factors in the first surviving examples). In a future publication I will treat this issue in more detail. For the possible existence of illustrated pre-iconoclast psalters in Byzantium, see also n. 21.

12 The notations record the *hypopsalmata*, as well as the *kathismata* and *doxai*, which mark the division of the psalter according to the Constantinopolitan (cathedral) and Palestinian (monastic) liturgical rites respectively. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* (n. 3 above), 127–29, 140–41, 144, 146.

13 Ibid., 141–42.

14 J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 31, no. 5 (Helsinki, 1903), 49–78.

15 C. Walter, "Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century," *REB* 44 (1986): 269–87. On 272–82 he lists eighty episodes in five categories:

this categorization, only twelve Christological episodes were inspired by the use of the corresponding psalm verses in the liturgical celebration on the relevant feast days.¹⁶ This conclusion is somewhat misleading, however, because many of the forty-nine Christological episodes that Walter considers to be inspired by the interpretation of relevant verses in the New Testament or in psalm commentaries correspond to psalm passages that were also used in the liturgical celebration of the relevant Christological feasts (discussed below).¹⁷ This means that the influence of liturgical practice on the miniatures might have been far more extensive than Walter concludes, and closer to Tikkanen's evaluation.

This is in fact the opinion that is put forward by Anthony Cutler in a 1980–81 article in which he suggests that the bulk of the iconography in Byzantine marginal psalters has liturgical origins and associations that “would have been immediately evident and perfectly comprehensible to the contemporary user of the psalters but today requires explication.”¹⁸ Cutler identifies different levels of liturgical influence on the illustrations of these codices, not all equally evident, and gives a few examples that aim to demonstrate the overall complexity of the manuscripts.¹⁹ However, the number of scenes examined is much too small to support the application of his thesis to the entire corpus of miniatures in the Byzantine marginal psalters, as Cutler himself admits. Nevertheless, his observations suggest the extent of liturgical influence on the illustration of these codices and open the door for further research.

Many of Cutler's examples concern miniatures in eleventh-century marginal psalters, for which liturgical influence has been more extensively recognized than for

their ninth-century counterparts.²⁰ In her monograph on the illustration of the earlier psalters, Kathleen Corrigan focuses on visual polemics, and the influence of the liturgy is not a main theme of her analysis. Although she recognizes that the choice of subject matter and certain iconographic details of a few miniatures were conditioned to some extent by liturgical practice, she contends that the principal factor determining theme and iconography, especially in those images that were added in the ninth century to the supposedly preexisting tradition of psalter illustration, was the intention to create a visual statement with a particular iconophile overtone in defense of Orthodoxy.²¹ In the following analysis I suggest that Corrigan's iconophile

20 Ibid., 22–30; L. Mariès, “L’irruption des saints dans l’illustration des psautiers byzantins,” *AB* 68 (1950): 153–62, esp. 162. See also C. Barber, “Reading in the Theodore Psalter,” in Barber, *Theodore Psalter* (n. 7 above), essay 1, 10–12.

21 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* (n. 3 above), 4–5, 41–42, 45–46, 56–59, 123. For the hypothesis that there was no preexisting tradition of psalter illustration in Byzantium, see n. 11 above. See also the more cautious treatment of the issue by Brubaker, “Bristol Psalter” (n. 7 above), esp. 127–28, 135–36. Although I agree with her that the existence of the psalter illustration in late antique Byzantium remains a hypothesis, I do not understand why she assumes we have no “literal” miniatures in the surviving manuscripts of that period (which in her view undermines the hypothesis of pre-iconoclastic literal psalm illustration). Even if in the surviving late antique manuscripts the miniatures don't always appear in proximity to the relevant text or at times include elements not mentioned in the scriptures, still many of their Old and New Testament scenes illustrate literally the stories of the bible (e.g., the Vienna Genesis, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31, or the Rabbula Gospels, Florence, Laurenziana, cod. Plut. I, 56) in the same way the miniatures of the ninth-century Milan Gregory or Paris Sacra Parallela do (both used by Brubaker as examples of literal illustration; Milan, Ambrosiana, cod. E. 49/50 inf., and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, cod. gr. 923). The difference between those late antique miniatures and the ones usually termed “literal” in psalters is due to intrinsic differences not in the nature of the illustration but in that of the texts: most biblical books are narrative accounts of events (like Genesis or the Gospels), while the psalter consists primarily of invocations, admonitions, and general references to good and evil that rarely mention specific events and are written in a poetic language full of vivid metaphors and similes. So while miniatures that illustrate literally the text of Genesis or the Gospel are narrative episodes, literal illustrations of the psalter usually visualize the poetic imagery, i.e., the words of the text. Psalter miniatures that represent Old Testament events inspired by the few relevant direct or indirect references found in the psalms are usually labeled “Old Testament” rather than “literal” illustrations in scholarly literature to distinguish them from the “word” miniatures, but often they are as literal as the miniatures that visualize the poetic expressions of the psalms.

(1) twelve drawn from New Testament psalm quotations; (2) thirty-seven from patristic commentaries; (3) six from later patristic writers; (4) twelve from Byzantine worship; and (5) thirteen for which no liturgical or patristic source is known. Walter also discusses five episodes found only in the eleventh-century marginal psalters, 284–86.

16 Ibid., 277–79.

17 Ibid., 272–75.

18 A. Cutler, “Liturgical Strata in the Marginal Psalters,” *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81): 17–30.

19 Ibid., 18–30. According to Cutler, the most obvious level of liturgical influence on the illustration of the marginal psalters consists of representations of the “authors” of the liturgies or depictions of the Eucharist. At a less evident stratum, the miniatures are inspired by the role that the psalm verses they illustrate played in the various offices. The deepest and least obvious level concerns miniatures whose iconography was modified by reference to the liturgy.

emphasis sometimes leads her to undervalue the liturgical factor and its interplay with the polemical aspect of the illustration. The driving force in the creation of these codices was indeed the defense of Orthodoxy and especially of icon veneration, as Corrigan suggests, but in this defense, inspiration from the liturgy seems to have been instrumental.

The following analysis is divided into two main parts. First, a comparative examination of the material clarifies how extensive and decisive the influence of the liturgy was on the illustration of the ninth-century psalters. Groups of miniatures with the same Christological subjects are examined to determine whether the illustration of the relevant psalm verses depended more on their use in the liturgy or on their interpretation in patristic commentaries. The conclusions offer a fresh perspective on the sources and criteria used by the makers of the psalters and, consequently, on their ideology and intentions. Second, cases of liturgical influence on particular miniatures are used to illuminate the complexity and sophistication of ninth-century Byzantine psalter illustration in relation to liturgical sources, visual exegesis, and iconophile polemics.

A final clarification is necessary before proceeding to the main discussion. Despite an emphasis on liturgical influence, I do not propose a dichotomy between patristic and liturgical sources in the illustration of the ninth-century psalters. Although my study aims to demonstrate the importance of the liturgical factor and explain its significance, I do not see it operating in antithesis to the patristic factor, but rather in dialogue with it. Specific cases that demonstrate the interaction between different sources are discussed below. A relevant point to bear in mind at the outset is that to a large extent the liturgy itself must have incorporated many interpretations of patristic psalm exegesis. In other words, the liturgical employment of psalm verses on specific feast days of the Byzantine Church was probably influenced by patristic psalm commentaries, since both the early Church Fathers and the authors of the developing rite had a common interest in the interpretation of the Old Testament as a prefiguration of the New. This approach originated in the New Testament itself. Indeed, in the case of some miniatures examined below, biblical, patristic, and liturgical sources seem inextricably linked, and it is impossible or even pointless to try and separate them. In addition, the New Testament, patristic commentaries, and the liturgy

often interpret the psalter according to the relevance of its vocabulary: in some cases the wording of the psalms is so reminiscent of the New Testament events they are supposed to prophesy that their Christian exegesis is particularly successful and memorable. As the following analysis demonstrates, the planners of the ninth-century psalters' illustration seem to have considered relevant vocabulary along with liturgical sources. So even though my analysis sheds more light on the liturgy as an influential factor for the illustration of these psalters, it does not aim to establish rigid models of classification that are more akin to modern scholarly mentality than to Byzantine realities. In other words, we need to have a nuanced approach to the material and not lose sight of the larger picture while exploring its details. The multiplicity and sophistication of references in the miniatures of the ninth-century psalters is a fact that is promoted rather than limited by the importance of the liturgical factor, as discussed below.

Comparative Analysis

The following analysis focuses on four Christological episodes that correspond to major church feasts. In Byzantine marginal psalter illustration, Old Testament scenes were usually inspired directly by the verses they illustrated. The same was true for those miniatures that represented literally certain generic references of the psalms (e.g., to the conduct of virtuous or sinful men).²² The Christological imagery, however, was created according to a different pattern. The illustration of a psalm verse with an episode from Christ's life—in other words, the exegesis of an Old Testament text with a New Testament episode—was the result of a process of interpretation that in most cases had already been applied to that specific verse before the creation of the ninth-century marginal psalters. Relevant interpretations have appeared occasionally in the New Testament itself and systematically in psalm commentaries and other patristic texts or in liturgical practice (i.e., in the incorporation of psalm verses in the liturgical celebration of feast days exactly because these psalm passages were considered prophecies of the relevant

22 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 14–20. See below, pp. 40–45, for some exceptions to this rule (cases of liturgical influence on Old Testament or literal illustrations).

Christological events). Although Tikkanen emphasizes the liturgical factor and Walter the patristic one, in most cases it can be shown that the illustration of a verse with a specific Christological scene corresponds to the interpretation of that verse in *both* psalm commentaries and liturgical usage.²³ The highly informed ecclesiastical circles in which the ninth-century marginal psalters were produced would have been equally familiar with the patristic exegesis of the psalms and their employment in the liturgy.²⁴ But if one of the two factors was more influential on the illustration of the marginal psalters, its identification would be crucial for understanding the intentions and criteria in the making of these psalters.

How can this question be resolved? The method of investigation I propose is an analysis of all the verses that were interpreted Christologically in Byzantine psalm commentaries. The comparative data indicate that most of the verses illustrated in the ninth-century marginal psalters were also used in relevant liturgical celebrations. Conversely, most of the verses that were not illustrated in the psalters, although they were interpreted Christologically in the commentaries, were not used in the relevant liturgical celebrations. In other words, absence of illustration usually coincides with absence of liturgical affiliations. This seems to indicate that liturgical exegesis (the use of specific psalms on specific feast days) took precedence over patristic exegesis in the choice of verses to be illustrated and the subject matter of the relevant miniatures. This preponderance of the liturgical factor is particularly evident in the case of miniatures that represent major Christological events, celebrated on important feast days of the Byzantine Church.

In addition, the relevance of psalm vocabulary is another factor that must be considered in combination with liturgical usage, so that the illustration of only some psalm verses among the many employed in the liturgy can be better explained. By relevant vocabulary I mean psalm words or phrases that are conspicuously similar to the wording of the Gospels or directly reminiscent of the main themes the evangelists mention in connection with Christological events that are also illustrated in the ninth-century psalters (for example,

the piercing of hands or the earthquake as an allusion to Christ's Crucifixion). In the same category I include *key words* that were widely used in patristic exegesis as allusions to specific Christological episodes and would have been easily recognized as such by a well-informed audience (for example, σημεῖον or ὑποπόδιον, sign or footstool, as keywords for the Cross). Relevant vocabulary as specified here was not always a factor at work in the patristic exegesis or the liturgical use of the psalms,²⁵ but it seems to have played a central role in the illustration of the ninth-century marginal psalters as a filter that limited the visualization of Christological interpretations

25 In several instances, nothing in the Old Testament text of the psalms immediately recalls the New Testament episodes they are supposed to prophesy, and the connections are illuminated only by the exegeses of the commentators. For example, see Athanasios of Alexandria's interpretation of Ps. 32:10, "The Lord scatters the counsels of nations and he frustrates the reasonings of peoples and he frustrates the counsels of rulers," which he considers prophetic of Christ's Resurrection (*Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:165B; table 2, no. 16). Or note the generic references to persecution/defeat and subsequent salvation in Psalm 68 that certain commentators considered prophetic of Christ's death and Resurrection (table 2, no. 31), but can be in fact applied to any situation of deliverance through divine help. By comparison, the psalms mentioned in Table 1 refer to rising, awaking, and the defeat of death, all of which easily bring to mind the Resurrection. In other cases, the psalm text has very generic references that can be connected to several Christological episodes that share common elements. In these cases, the choices made by the commentators can be considered rather subjective and might diverge from one author to another. For example, theologically speaking, salvation references can be related to Christ's Baptism, Crucifixion, or Resurrection, and the mention of God's glory can be linked to the Transfiguration, Resurrection, or Ascension. For example, compare the interpretation of Ps. 17:47b, "... blessed be my God and let the God of my salvation be exalted," as a reference to the Resurrection, to the interpretation of Ps. 19:6, "We will rejoice in your salvation, and in the name of our God shall we be magnified," as a reference to the Crucifixion (table 2, no. 9 and table 4, no. 1). In fact, in both cases words right before or after these passages could have inspired their connection to the Resurrection (Ps. 17:47a, "The Lord lives" and Ps. 19:7, "The Lord has saved his Christ"). But while Athanasios interpreted Ps. 19:5–7 as prophetic of the Resurrection, Origen connected Ps. 19:6 to the Crucifixion (tables 2, no. 10 and 4, no. 1). Under the column "relevant vocabulary" of my tables, I include psalm verses according to the criteria I have specified above, and I give specific explanations for the vocabulary of each Christological episode when I discuss them in the main text. Inside brackets I report verses with vocabulary that I consider ambiguous, because it might refer to more than one Christological event. For example, compare Ps. 77:16, "And he brought water out of the rock," as a reference to the Crucifixion (table 4, no. 11) to Ps. 113:8, "... who turns the rock into pools of water" (table 5, no. 4) as a reference to the Baptism. In patristic literature and liturgical use the water miracle of Moses at Horeb (Exodus

23 For the same observation concerning the Theodore Psalter, see Barber, "Reading in the Theodore Psalter," 11.

24 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 4.

to those liturgical psalm verses that offered the most obvious and convincing allusions to Christ's life.

The importance of relevant vocabulary will be illustrated through the analysis of specific cases below. The issue of liturgical and patristic sources, however, requires further explanation because the material available for the following investigation does not correspond exactly to what was in use in ninth-century Constantinople. So to substantiate the validity of the proposed analysis, I first discuss the issue of these sources in some detail.

Liturgical sources

I employ the same texts as in previous research by Cutler, Corrigan, and Walter, particularly the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Hagia Sophia in Constantinople) as preserved in cod. Hagiou Stavrou 40, dated to the mid-tenth century but believed to preserve an earlier tradition.²⁶ A subsidiary source is the *Typikon of the Greek Monastery of the Savior* (a Greek-speaking community in the town of Messina, Sicily) preserved in cod. Messinensis gr. 115, dated to 1131 and considered

to follow closely the practice of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople.²⁷ As is well known, the liturgical notations of the Pantokrator Psalter follow the cathedral rite employed in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople,²⁸ while the liturgical notations of the Chludov Psalter and the Paris marginal Psalter indicate a familiarity with both the cathedral and the monastic rites.²⁹ By the ninth century, the latter was introduced from Palestine to some monasteries of the capital (including the Stoudios monastery), and centuries later prevailed over the cathedral rite.³⁰ The two rites follow a different division of the psalter,³¹ but they have many similarities in their use of specific psalm verses for specific feasts, which is the main concern here.³² In the following analysis, any general reference to the cathedral rite depends on the information provided in the *Typikon of the Great Church*, while any reference to the monastic rite is based on the information in the *Typikon of the Savior*. Although in the tables accompanying this research I provide information from both typika, I give precedence to the *Typikon of the Great Church* for information on the liturgical correspondence between psalm verses and major feast days for a number of reasons:

17:1–7, Numbers 20:1–13), which is referenced in these psalms, was indeed related both to the Baptism and the Crucifixion of Christ (in the latter case often with a baptismal connection as well). See A. Semoglou, “L’icône sinaïte de la Crucifixion n. B 36 et son contenu ‘mosaïque’: La dialectique de la Passion,” *Iconographica* 4 (2005): 11–21 (he does not follow the Septuagint numbering of the Psalms employed here). In my tables I consider the vocabulary of the water-producing rock more appropriate to a Baptism interpretation, and ambiguous in the case of a Crucifixion interpretation, since the flowing of water is more characteristic of the former event (and it is a constant component of psalm exegesis as prophetic of the Baptism), while the spilling of blood rather than water is more characteristic of the latter event. However, both liquids flowed from Christ's pierced side; so this is indeed a case where the complexities and subtleties of Scripture and its exegesis remind us that rigid classifications are often problematic.

26 *Le typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X^e siècle*, ed. and trans. J. Mateos, 2 vols. (Rome, 1962–63); for the date see 1:xviii–xix.

27 *Le typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine: Codex Messinensis gr. 115, A.D. 1131*, ed. M. Arranz (Rome, 1969); see p. xx for its dependence on the Stoudios tradition.

28 They record the hypopsalmata—the antiphonal refrains sung in the cathedral rite to mark the division of the psalter into 68 antiphons. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 140–41, 144; Strunk, “Byzantine Office” (n. 2 above), 175–202, esp. 185–87, 200–201.

29 In addition to the hypopsalmata, these include notations for the 20 kathismata divided into 60 doxai, which mark the division of the psalter according to the Palestinian or monastic rite. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 140–41, 146. This system is discussed by J. Mateos, “Office de minuit et office du matin chez St. Athanase,” *OCP* 28 (1962): 173–80, esp. 175–76. I thank Dr. G. Parpulov for this reference.

30 See Strunk, “Byzantine Office,” 177–78.

31 In the cathedral rite, the psalter was chanted according to its division into 68 antiphons, over an undetermined period. In the monastic rite, the psalter was mostly recited (not chanted) according to its division into 20 kathismata and 60 doxai once a week (and twice during Lent). See Strunk, “Byzantine Office,” 179, 190–92.

32 The similarities are obvious from the information provided in tables 1–8 (in the columns recording liturgical usage), but are also evident if one compares the biblical index (psalter section) of the editions of the two *Typika*: Mateos, *Grande Église* (n. 26 above), 2:215–20, and Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur* (n. 27 above), 324–28.

1. Chronologically and geographically the *Typikon of the Great Church* is much closer to the ninth-century psalters than is the *Typikon of the Savior* in Messina.
2. The introduction of the monastic rite in Constantinople was a recent development at the time of the ninth-century psalters' creation, and in that early stage it interacted with, rather than excluded, the cathedral tradition.³³ By the time the marginal psalters were produced, shortly after 843, it is likely that in monasteries where the new rite was introduced, the selection of psalm verses for the celebration of major feast days remained similar to the selection used in the cathedral rite. This is suggested by the many relevant similarities between the tenth-century cathedral *Typikon of the Great Church* and the twelfth-century monastic *Typikon of the Savior*.³⁴ Moreover, it is generally accepted that the users of the ninth-century psalters belonged to the patriarchal circles of Constantinople and were therefore very familiar with the cathedral rite.³⁵ It cannot be excluded that the psalters were produced in a monastery of the Byzantine capital, but the monks of Constantinopolitan monasteries were certainly not isolated from the religious life of the rest of the city, and must have been familiar with the cathedral rite.³⁶
3. The liturgical notations of the three ninth-century psalters indicate that the cathedral rite was taken into consideration by the producers of these manuscripts. Rainer Stichel and Kathleen Corrigan have argued

that the cathedral rite was less important than the monastic one, at least for the scribe of the Chludov Psalter. In my opinion, however, there are indications that the cathedral rite was at least of equal importance to him, so I discuss this issue in some detail.

As already mentioned, the Pantokrator Psalter contains notations only for the *hypopsalmata*, which mark the antiphonal division of the psalter according to the cathedral rite, while the Chludov and Paris marginal Psalters also contain notations for the *kathismata* and *doxai* of the monastic rite. Stichel suggests that the monastic rite was more important to the makers of the Chludov Psalter, because at the end of the manuscript the scribe recorded only the numbers of the *kathismata* and *doxai* and not the numbers of the antiphons (which correspond to the *hypopsalmata*). In other codices that contain both cathedral and monastic forms of notation, the numbers of *kathismata* and *doxai* as well as antiphons are recorded at the end.³⁷ However, there could be another explanation for this omission. If the division of the psalter according to the monastic rite was a recent innovation in ninth-century Constantinople, it is possible that the scribe recorded the number of *kathismata* and *doxai* and not that of the antiphons because he and the other users of the codex were not familiar with the former, while they did not need to be reminded of the latter. When the monastic rite became widespread as well, the total numbers for both *kathismata* and *doxai* as well as antiphons were tallied to keep the record straight.³⁸ Therefore, Stichel's observation cannot be considered a solid argument for the primacy of the monastic over the cathedral rite.

Corrigan agrees with Stichel's hypothesis that the Chludov Psalter was intended for monastic use, and she advances further arguments: she notes that the scribe omitted a number of *hypopsalmata*, which in her

33 In fact, this interaction between the two rites continued for many centuries. See Strunk, "Byzantine Office," 198; Cutler, "Liturgical Strata" (n. 18 above), 18; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 127–28.

34 See n. 32 above.

35 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 130–34.

36 Ibid., 124–29. On 128 Corrigan notes: "in the ninth century one is likely to find a mixture of the cathedral and monastic rites in some of the monasteries of Constantinople." She bases this statement on an unpublished paper by R. Stichel, delivered May 5, 1975, at the third national conference of Byzantine studies in Italy (Naples); see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 128 n. 25 (on p. 201). See also the discussion below. In addition see R. Taft, "Cathedral vs. Monastic Liturgy in the Christian East: Vindicating a Distinction," *BollGrott* 3rd ser., 2 (2005): 173–219, with references to the continuous interaction between the monastic and the cathedral rites, especially in the case of urban monasteries like the Stoudios in Constantinople, which not only influenced the rite of the Great Church but was also influenced by it.

37 Unpublished paper mentioned in note 36, above; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 128 n. 26 (on p. 201). In the Chludov Psalter, the list of *kathismata* and *doxai* appears after Psalm 150, on fol. 147v (Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 141). The last part of the Paris marginal Psalter does not survive, so we do not know what the manuscript included at its end (ibid., 128).

38 The psalters mentioned by Stichel and Corrigan as recording both systems are dated to the tenth century (cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 285 and Paris. gr. 164). See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 128 n. 26 (on p. 201).

opinion indicates that the cathedral rite to which they correspond must have been of lesser importance to him. However, this is only one way of interpreting this omission, and other possibilities might point in the opposite direction. For example, if the scribe was more familiar with the cathedral rite than with the monastic rite, he might have added the hypopsalmata relying mostly on his memory rather than on a written source (if for example, he used a codex without cathedral liturgical notations to copy the psalms). In this way, he may have forgotten some hypopsalmata. On the contrary, unfamiliarity with the monastic rite would have prompted him to use a written source to copy precisely the distribution of the kathismata and doxai one by one.³⁹ In addition Corrigan records that at the end of the codex the scribe included texts that probably reflect monastic practice.⁴⁰ In my opinion, this last argument might suggest that the codex was produced and perhaps used in a monastery, but on the whole there is no substantial indication of indifference toward or lack of familiarity with the cathedral rite. On the contrary, there is further evidence to suggest that the cathedral rite was central to the life of the people who produced and used the Chludov Psalter.

As already noted by various scholars, in all three ninth-century psalters the entire text of the psalms is written according to the long verses of the cathedral rite and not the shorter verses of the Palestinian or monastic rite (used, for example, in the eleventh-century Theodore Psalter produced in the Stoudios Monastery).⁴¹ Moreover, in the Chludov Psalter the number and arrangement of the odes and their division

into antiphons accords with the cathedral rite.⁴² The same is true for the fixed psalms for matins (*orthros*) and vespers: they are marked in the upper margins of the appropriate folios according to the office of Hagia Sophia.⁴³ In other words, the evidence suggests that whether or not the Chludov Psalter was produced in and for a monastery, its makers and users were very familiar with the cathedral rite. This is not surprising in ninth-century Constantinople, where the recently introduced monastic rite was interacting with the cathedral tradition, and where monks and monastic institutions were closely linked to the patriarchate. For example, Michael Synkellos, who has been mentioned as one of the clergymen possibly involved in the production of the ninth-century psalters, was both abbot of the Chora Monastery and chief advisor of Patriarch Methodios.⁴⁴

The illustration of the Chludov Psalter offers further proof of this interaction between the monastic and the cathedral spheres, but at the same time it gives primacy to a patriarch as much as the structure of the text and its liturgical notations give primacy to the cathedral rite. Corrigan suggests that the miniatures, which in the Chludov Psalter represent a monk as “martyr,” a group of monks as “the righteous,” and monks giving and receiving alms, reinforce the associations of this manuscript with a monastic setting.⁴⁵ However, although the presence of monks in the Chludov Psalter is conspicuous in comparison with the other two ninth-century marginal psalters, where no monks appear, it is not nearly as emphatic as, for example, in the eleventh-century Theodore Psalter, which was produced in the Stoudios monastery for its abbot. In the Chludov Psalter, only two or perhaps three of the five

39 For Corrigan’s view, see *Visual Polemics*, 128, 141, n. 8. She mentions missing hypopsalmata for 8 out of a total 68 antiphons (1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 26, 27, 38). In any case, I do not believe that this omission bears much weight against other arguments that clearly indicate the importance of the cathedral rite for the makers and users of the Chludov Psalter (see below).

40 Ibid., 128, 141–43. These texts are two prayers for the “Service of the Refectory” (fol. 167v), and the “Canon of Daily and Nightly Psalms” (fols. 169r–v). The prayers contained in the Chludov Psalter are discussed in detail by I. E. Lozovaia and B. L. Fonkich, “O proiskhozhdenii Khudovskoi Psaltriri,” in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Iskusstvo rukopisnoi knigi; Vizantiia, Drevniaia Rus’*, ed. E. N. Dobrynina (St. Petersburg, 2004), 7–20. I was not able to consult this publication. I thank reader B for this bibliographic reference.

41 A. Schneider, “Die biblischen Oden in Jerusalem und Konstantinopel,” *Biblica* 10 (1949): 442ff.; Strunk, “Byzantine Office,” 192; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 140, 144, 146.

42 Schneider, “Die biblischen Oden,” 245, 253; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 141. The Chludov Psalter contains fourteen biblical odes and the *Gloria in excelsis*. The fourteen-ode system is considered to be of Constantinopolitan origin, while the nine-ode system that eventually prevailed is considered to be of Palestinian origin.

43 J. Mateos, “Quelques problèmes de l’Orthros byzantin,” *PrOC* 11 (1967): 7–35, 207–20, esp. 18; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 141.

44 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 129, 134. Corrigan mentions more evidence on the interactions between the monastic and patriarchal spheres in ninth-century Constantinople. The most conspicuous example is the case of Patriarch Methodios himself, who had been a monk and founder of a monastery in Bithynia before ascending to the patriarchal throne.

45 Fol. 22v (Ps. 24:12); fol. 30v (Ps. 33:18); fols. 35r and 116r, (Psalms 36:26 and 111:9 respectively). Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 128.

righteous on folio 30v are monks—the others are not clearly characterized. In the corresponding miniature on folio 37v of the Theodore Psalter all the righteous are monks.⁴⁶ In the Chludov Psalter, only the first one or two men in the group of people depicted receiving or giving alms in connection to Psalms 36:26 and 111:9 are certainly monks. In the Theodore Psalter, all the men in the group illustrating Psalm 36:26 are monks.⁴⁷

46 In both manuscripts the miniature illustrates Ps. 33. In the Chludov Psalter, the only figure represented as a monk beyond any doubt is the seated young man who wears a dark hood and schema with a belt on the right. Next to him, on the left, is a bearded man dressed in an ocher tunic and mantle. Below the latter appears the lower part of a light blue rectangular cloth that might be intended as a monastic schema. (The color is unusual, but not unique. For example, in the Theodore Psalter the schema of most monks, when still preserved, is dark, but that of the monk on fol. 179v is light blue. See the color reproduction in Barber, *Theodore Psalter* [n. 7 above].) At the back of the group in the Chludov miniature is an older bearded figure with arms outstretched in prayer, who wears a dark mantle in the same color as the hood and schema of the monk at front right. It is possible he was also intended to represent a monk. The other two figures are not clearly identified (a standing man in profile dressed in ocher and praying on the right, and a seated man in the center, only the head of whom is visible). By contrast, in the Theodore Psalter all the figures of the “righteous” of Ps. 33 are undoubtedly monks dressed in dark tunics and mantles, below which dark schemas are visible (Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 7 above], 27, fig. 64). This is the standard way monastic figures are represented in this manuscript. When the lower part of a body is still well preserved, it is obvious each one wears a schema, from the bottom of which hang harness straps or cords that wrap around the body (probably the analabos, see below). For a discussion of the items comprising the monastic habit, see K. Innemée, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East* (Leiden–New York, 1992), esp. 99–128. According to his analysis on pp. 108–27, the long rectangular cloth visible below a monk’s mantle is the schema (still used by Greek Orthodox, often referred to as scapular in English scholarly literature. However, there is confusion about this cloth, because in Russian it is called analavon, from the Greek analabos, which in Byzantine and Greek Orthodox tradition is the term for the straps crossing on the chest and back above the tunic and schema. To complicate matters further, in the Coptic tradition these straps are called schema instead. I follow Innemée’s use of schema as scapular (the oblong piece of cloth over the tunic and below the mantle) for the Byzantine monastic habit. For a discussion of the colors of monastic habits (variations of dark, but also of light colors—the latter especially in warm climates like that of Egypt), see J. Ball, “Decoding the Habit of the Byzantine Nun,” *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 27–28 (2009–10): 25–52, esp. 39–46. I thank the author for providing me with a copy of her article, and Vasilis Marinis for drawing my attention to it.

47 In the Chludov illustration of Psalm 36:26 (fol. 35r), the personification of Charity is depicted receiving and offering alms to a group of three men inscribed as “charitable” (EAEHMONEC). The first is clearly characterized as a monk, dressed in a dark

It is worthy of notice that in the Chludov Psalter we see figures whose monastic identification is not certain, for they lack signs such as the hood or the schema. On the contrary, priests (more precisely bishops) are always clearly identified.⁴⁸ This ambiguity regarding the monastic habit sharply contrasts with the precise and consistent manner in which monks are represented in the Theodore Psalter: in most cases they appear in dark tunics and mantles, and usually they wear a dark but still clearly visible schema and analabos (scapular and harness straps or cords).⁴⁹ The

tunic and hood. The second is dressed in the same color (without a hood), so he might also be a monk. The third man is younger, with rich untrimmed hair and dressed in red, so clearly he is not a monk. The Chludov miniature for Psalm 111:9 (fol. 116r) represents a charitable man (ANHP EAEHMΩN) offering alms to an elderly monk with a brown hood and mantle, below which is visible his brown schema held by a belt and his ocher tunic. Behind him stands a group of undifferentiated young men dressed in ocher tunics (without hoods, mantles, or schemas). The inscription next to them reads “poor” (ΠΕΝΗΤΕC). Perhaps the intention is to present the monk as the intermediary who will distribute the alms offered by the charitable man to the poor. Alternatively, he could be represented as the first among the poor, for emphasis on his austere way of life. It cannot be excluded that he is intended to be the leader of a monastic community (since the young men behind him are dressed in the same color as he and could be novices), but the absence of hoods, belts, or other clear identification signs on all those figures at the back renders this reading uncertain, if not dubious. In the Theodore Psalter, in the illustration of Ps. 36:26 (fol. 43v) all the charitable figures are clearly characterized as monks, but in the case of Ps. 111:9 (fol. 153v) only the first one is, making more possible a similar reading in the corresponding Chludov miniature. Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs* (n. 7 above), 28 and 52, figs. 74 and 247.

48 For example, John Chrysostom and Patriarch Nikephoros wearing sticharion, phelonion, and omophorion with crosses on fols. 23v, 47v, and 51v.

49 In addition to the miniatures already mentioned, see those on fols. 31, 161, 221, 26v, 341–v, 67v, 681–v, 75v, 781, 88v, 941, 96v, 971, 981, 1111, 1171, 120v, 1251, 1511, 1571, 1601, 1611, 163v, 178v, 179v (Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 7 above], 18, 21, 22–24, 26, 33, 35, 38–40, 42, 45–46, 51, 53–54, 56, figs. 5, 29, 39, 47, 57–58, 109–11, 121, 125, 144, 153, 157–58, 160, 183, 193, 197, 203, 242, 254, 259–60, 263, 281–82). Some of these figures are nuns, and also wear schema and analabos. Euphemia, who was not really a nun, is represented as such on fol. 163v (since she wears schema and analabos above her tunic and below her maphorion), and Theodora, who led a monastic life dressed as a monk, is actually represented as a nun, again with schema and analabos (fol. 1571). Der Nersessian, *ibid.*, 53–54, and Barber, *Theodore Psalter* (n. 7 above), do not comment on the details of monastic clothing in these (or other) cases. In the Theodore Psalter, the consistent depiction of the schema (scapular)

viewer gets the impression that in the latter manuscript a detailed and easily identifiable rendering of the monastic habit was much more important than in the Chludov Psalter. In addition, in the Theodore Psalter monks are not just frequently represented, but they are also roughly as numerous as another prominent category of saints, that of bishops and priests (followed by a much smaller number of military saints and other holy figures).⁵⁰ On the contrary, the Chludov Psalter contains very few depictions of eponymous saints (besides Old and New Testament figures), only one of which is a monk.⁵¹ Thus the monks who appear

in all the representations of monks whose lower body is visible and still preserved in good condition indicates the importance of this piece of clothing for the monastic habit, at least in the mentality of the Stoudite monks (for whose abbot this codex was produced). This can be related to the ninth-century Stoudios Typikon (Ἑποτύπωσις καταστάσεως τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου), which mentions that each brother should have three different scapulars (a large woolen one, and two more, one for work and one for Saturday and Sunday church services). The maximum number for each of the other items of clothing that Stoudite monks were allowed was two rather than three. The term used in the Greek text published in PG 99:1720A–B is ἐπώμιον (“on the shoulders”), which is translated as “scapular” in *BMFD*, 1:114–15, § 38). I take this to be the same piece of clothing that I term *schema* (see the discussion in n. 46 above).

50 In the following count I do not include Old and New Testament saints. I consider only figures that are haloed or inscribed as ἅγιοι (“holy”) even when they don’t have a halo. See the previous note for a list of monks (and a few nuns) in the Theodore Psalter, most of whom are eponymous. To them add St. Onouphrios on fol. 152v, Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs*, 52, fig. 245 (not listed above because he does not wear the monastic habit but is naked). Other categories of saints (mostly priests, especially bishops, military saints, and a few others) are depicted on fols. 3v, 13v, 15r, 20v, 23v, 27v, 29v, 32v, 33v, 35v, 36v, 38v, 29v, 40r, 48r, 49v, 55r, 57v, 60r, 76v, 79v, 81r–v, 85v, 89v, 90r, 95v, 107v, 109r, 112r, 124v, 125v, 127r, 130v, 131v, 149v, 158r, 163r, 165r, 167r, 169r, *ibid.*, 18, 21–32, 35–39, 42–44, 46–48, 51, 53–54, figs. 6–7, 24, 27, 36, 42, 47, 51, 55–56, 60, 62, 66, 68–69, 82–83, 88–89, 94, 97, 123, 127, 130–31, 139, 146–47, 155, 176, 179, 185, 202, 204–5, 211–12, 239, 256, 262, 265, 268, 270. There are approximately 26 compositions with saintly bishops or priests (comparable to the 27 with monks), and about 10 with military saints (sometimes depicted together with other types of saints).

51 This is St. Symeon the Stylite (on fol. 3v). Compare the five cases of other eponymous saints besides Patriarch Nikephoros whom I mention below: the Seven Sleeping Youths of Ephesos, fol. 29r; St. George, fol. 44r; John Chrysostom, fol. 47v; Constantine the Great, fol. 58v; and Eustathios, fol. 97v. Also, in addition to one anonymous monk depicted as a martyr (fol. 22v), there is a group of anonymous martyrs dressed in short tunics (lay workmen?) being beheaded and St. George (military saint) being tortured on the wheel on fol. 44r,

in the Chludov Psalter might be considered to be part of a more collective image of the representatives of orthodox piety rather than as emphatic references to monasticism. In addition, monks are not highlighted in the Chludov Psalter as the most significant iconophile heroes. That distinction is given to the patriarch of Constantinople Nikephoros, the only eponymous iconophile in the pages of this psalter: Nikephoros appears opposing and defeating the iconoclasts, next to Psalms 25:5 and 51:9.⁵² The message is different in the Theodore Psalter: Nikephoros appears together with Theodore the Stoudite next to Psalm 25, and he is omitted altogether from the illustration of Psalm 51.⁵³ In other words, the illustration of the Chludov Psalter emphasizes the role of the patriarch and not the monks as foremost defender of icon veneration and orthodox piety.

All the above evidence suggests that the makers and users of the Chludov Psalter were related to the patriarchate and were very familiar with the cathedral rite. The same is true for the Pantokrator Psalter, where once more Nikephoros is the only eponymous

and a group of anonymous martyrs dressed as imperial officials (military saints) on fol. 65v. All of these figures are identified as martyrs by inscriptions and elements of the composition. Obviously in the Chludov Psalter monks are not singled out as the foremost martyrs of the Church. Finally, in addition to the groups of “righteous,” “charitable,” and “poor” men among whom monks appear (nn. 46–47 above), there is also a group of saints that are represented as imperial officials, i.e., military saints, on fol. 11v (they don’t have halos, but a reference sign connects them to the word “saints” in the adjacent psalm text).

52 Fols. 23v and 51v respectively.

53 Fol. 27v; Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs*, 24, fig. 48; Fol. 66r; *ibid.*, 33, fig. 107. Scholars have noted that in the 9th century Nikephoros and Theodore the Stoudite bitterly disagreed over the second marriage of Emperor Constantine VI. The debate seriously troubled the Church and was revived during the patriarchate of Methodios, who threatened the Stoudites with excommunication unless they discontinued their accusations against Nikephoros for refusing to condemn the marriage. See J. Darrouzès, “Le patriarche Méthode contre les iconoclastes et les stoudites,” *REB* 45 (1987): 15–57; D. Afinogenov, “Κωνσταντινούπολις ἐπισκοπον ἔχει,” *Erytheia* 17 (1996): 43–71, esp. 62–71; K. Maksimović, “Patriarch Methodios I (843–847) und das studitische Schisma: Quellenkritische Bemerkungen,” *Byzantion* 70 (2000): 422–46. Under these historical circumstances, it is rather unlikely that the Chludov Psalter was produced in the Stoudios monastery, since its miniatures exalt Nikephoros as the foremost defender of Orthodoxy and omit Theodore the Stoudite. See Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* (n. 3 above), 124.

iconophile hero praised in the miniatures,⁵⁴ and the liturgical notations mark only the hypopsalmata of the cathedral rite.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, in the case of the Paris marginal Psalter, the loss of most folios (including the last part of the manuscript) hinders a thorough investigation of its liturgical associations, but the surviving evidence indicates that the cathedral rite was influential in the production of this codex as well. Although the kathismata and doxai of the monastic rite are here marked by conspicuous circular frames in the margins of the folios, the text of the psalms is written in the long verses of the cathedral rite, as in the other two psalters.⁵⁶ Moreover, in this codex as well as in the Chludov and Pantokrator Psalters, the ruling provides an extra line at the top of the folios for the hypopsalmata of the cathedral rite.⁵⁷ No such special provision was made in the planning of the manuscripts for the kathismata and doxai of the monastic rite: in the Pantokrator Psalter they were omitted altogether, in the Chludov Psalter they were squeezed in after the last words of psalms or next to their titles (depending on the availability of space left by the psalm text),⁵⁸ and in the Paris marginal Psalter they were written in the margins (albeit in prominent frames), so their inclusion might have been an afterthought to the writing of the psalm text.

To conclude, the cathedral rite seems to have been important to the makers and users of the ninth-century marginal psalters. This observation, in addition to the factors of date and historical context mentioned above, further justifies the use of the *Typikon of the Great Church* as our main liturgical source. The *Typikon of the Savior* is considered as a comparative and subsidiary source for the

information it provides on the monastic rite. An additional indirect liturgical source that is occasionally employed consists of hymns and homilies that were composed for specific feasts: according to Tikkanen and Walter, certain psalm verses were incorporated into such texts, and can therefore complement the information of the *Typikon of the Great Church* on the liturgical usage of the psalter.⁵⁹ In fact, the employment of psalm verses (verbatim or in paraphrase) in liturgical hymns and homilies should be considered a direct liturgical source for the interpretation of the Psalter, but in the following analysis and tables I term it “indirect” (marked by o in the tables) simply to differentiate it from the direct quotation of psalm verses in the basic structure of the liturgy as reported by the two *Typika* (marked by • in the tables). Since I have not investigated this “indirect” liturgical use of the Psalter, but have simply mentioned the few scattered cases reported by other scholars (and in any case it is impossible to know exactly which homilies and hymns were employed throughout the year in ninth-century Constantinople either in the cathedral or the monastic rite in order to check all their psalm references), the liturgical interpretations of the psalms reported in the following tables should be considered incomplete. Readers should therefore bear in mind the following. First, when the *Typika* do not record a liturgical use for a specific psalm verse, this does not mean that such a use was necessarily absent. This is why “~” is employed in the tables, to denote lack of reference in the *Typika* and not lack of liturgical usage in general (compare the use of “–”, to indicate the absolute lack of a reference in the tables, in the case of relevant vocabulary, illustration, or exegetical interpretation). Second, because of this incompleteness of the tables (and because of the interaction between the cathedral and monastic rites as described above), the correspondences between the illustration of the marginal psalters and one or the other *Typikon* as reported in the following tables should not be considered an indication of the greater influence on these manuscripts of either the cathedral or the monastic rite.

54 Fol. 16r (Ps. 25:5). Discussed by I. Ševčenko, “The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the Pantokrator Psalter,” *CahArch* 15 (1965): 52–60; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 120, fig. 111.

55 Ibid., 144. The notations for kathismata and doxai were added when the manuscript was rewritten around the 12th or 13th century.

56 Ibid., 146.

57 Ibid., 140, 144, 146.

58 For example, see fols. 3v, 5v, 13v, 16v, 22r, 36r, 46r, **48v**, **51r**, 56v, **59v**, 61v, **73r**, 75v, **85r**, **87v**, 90v, **97v**, 100r, **103r**, 107v, **114v**, 133r, **139v**, 141v, **144r**, **156r**. The original uncial script is still preserved in the folios indicated in bold. In the other cases, the notations are in the minuscule script of the 12th–13th c., when the codex was rewritten, but in most cases we can be sure that they appear right on top of the original notations of the 9th c.

59 Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration* (n. 14 above), various examples, e.g., on pp. 49, 53, 60, 62, 63; Walter, “Christological Themes” (n. 15 above), 278–79.

Patristic sources

Not all psalm commentaries known in Byzantium have survived to the present day, nor are they easily available to us in their original form. The extant psalm commentaries published in *Patrologia graeca* or in more recent editions present the interpretations of each commentator grouped together in the form of a continuous treatise. However, the most popular psalm commentaries that circulated in the ninth century were very different: they were compilations (*catenae*) of psalm commentaries by many different authors. Most of today's editions of psalm commentaries by individual authors derive from catena manuscripts, but the full multiple-authored *catenae* remain unpublished. The matter is further complicated by the great number of different versions of *catenae*, which vary considerably in length and in the number of authors whose texts are collected together.⁶⁰

In other words, it is impossible to know how many Christological interpretations were included in the psalm commentaries available to the makers of the ninth-century marginal psalters—not to mention that some of these interpretations could have originated from other patristic texts or from the makers' own intellectual activity. However, it seems safe for the purpose of the present investigation to use two of the most extensive catena manuscripts on the psalms that have survived: Paris. gr. 146 of the tenth to eleventh century, and Marc. gr. 17, the well-known psalter of Basil II, dated to the beginning of the eleventh century. According to Gilles Dorival, both these manuscripts are based on a Constantinopolitan compilation of psalm commentaries dated before 900 (but Paris. gr. 146 has incorporated more sources).⁶¹ As

these two manuscripts include in their commentaries a large number of Christological interpretations drawn from preexisting compilations, one may assume that at least some of those earlier sources were familiar to the producers of the ninth-century marginal psalters. The two catena codices can therefore be used to determine whether the Christological illustration of the ninth-century psalters depends more on psalm commentaries or on liturgical usage. I have also taken into account published psalm commentaries (under the names of individual authors), not only because they sometimes have Christological interpretations absent from the two catena manuscripts used here, but also because they show the broad range of sources used in the creation of *catenae* on the psalms: sources that may also have been used for the creation of the visual commentaries included in the marginal psalters.

In the following analysis, the influence of the liturgy is specifically compared to that of patristic psalm commentaries as obvious sources of references for the illustration of the psalter, and not to patristic *interpretations* of the psalms found in other texts. Modern tools like the *Biblia Patristica* reflect resources available to scholars today, but not what the planners of the ninth-century marginal psalters would have had at their disposal. Not only is it impossible to guess the range of other patristic sources aside from psalm commentaries that they might have taken into consideration, but at times it is misleading to label such sources as patristic rather than liturgical. For example, psalm interpretations found in patristic homilies read on specific feast days should be thought of as liturgical rather than patristic sources, because it was their use in the liturgy that made them widely known. Such cases will not be discussed here.

Since we do not have at our disposal the exact liturgical and patristic sources that would have been available to the makers of the ninth-century marginal psalters, it is obvious that the results of the following investigation cannot be conclusive; they are just indicative of certain tendencies. Even so, they can contribute to a better understanding of the subject. Due to the quantity of information that this investigation requires, a number of tables systematically present all the evidence, and the conclusions are summarized in

60 For all the above see R. Devreesse, *Les anciens commentateurs des Psaumes* (Vatican City, 1970); E. Mühlenberg, *Psalmekommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, vol. 3 (Berlin–New York, 1978); M. Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (III^e–V^e siècles)* (Rome, 1982); G. Dorival, “La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques,” *REB* 43 (1985): 209–26; idem, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes: Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, 4 vols. (Leuven, 1986–95). See also Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 104–11, for the relationship of the ninth-century marginal psalters with catena manuscripts.

61 Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes*, 4:360–61, 417–18. The catena of cod. Marc. gr. Z. 17 belongs to the same recension as the catena of the famous cod. Paris. gr. 139 of the mid-tenth century (ibid., 1:247–48, 4:418). The choice to use the psalter kept in the Biblioteca Marciana rather than that in the Bibliothèque Nationale, although the latter is half a century closer to the date of

the ninth-century marginal psalters, was purely due to technical reasons (legibility of the respective microfilms).

TABLE 1. Psalms illustrated with Christ’s Resurrection in the ninth- and eleventh-century Byzantine marginal psalters

No.	Psalm	Accompanying illustration	Relevant vocabulary	Psalter					
				Chludov	Pantokrator	Paris	Theodore (London)	Barberini	Bristol
1	7:7	David at Christ’s Tomb	Arise, O Lord . . . be exalted . . . awake. . .	6r	X	X	7r	12v	–
2	9:33	David, Christ at Tomb	Arise, O Lord, let your hand be lifted	9v	24v	X	10r	18v	–
3	11:6	David, Christ at Tomb	“Now will I arise,” says the Lord	X	26v	X	11v	20v	21v
4	30:5–7	Christ at Tomb	You shall bring me out of the snare . . . You hated those who carefully guarded	26v	30v	X	32v	49v	–
5	43:24	David, Holy Women at Tomb	Awake . . . O Lord, arise	44r	X	X	–	77r	–
6	43:27	David, Holy Women at Tomb	Arise, O Lord, help us, and redeem us	44r	X	X	55v	77r	–
7	67:2	Anastasis	Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered	63r	–	X	82v	109r	104r
8	67:7	Anastasis	God . . . (is) leading forth prisoners . . . even them that dwell in tombs	63v	83r	X	83r	109v	–
9	77:65	David, Christ at Tomb	So the Lord awaked as one out of sleep, and as a mighty man intoxicated with wine	78v	109r	X	105v	136v	–
10	79:3	Holy Women at Tomb	Stir up your dominance, and come to deliver us	–	112r	X	–	–	–
11	81:8	Anastasis	Arise, O God, judge the earth	82v	–	X	–	142v	–
12	101:14	Anastasis	When you arise, you shall have compassion for Zion, for the set time is come	100v	–	X	134v	171r	–
13	106:14–16	Anastasis	He brought them out of the darkness and shadow of death . . . he crushed the bronze gates	X	–	19v	146v	187r	–

^a C. Walter, “Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century,” *REB* 44 (1986): 278.
^b J. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 31, no. 5 (Helsinki, 1903), 61–62.
Key to abbreviations (all tables)
– no relevant illustration or interpretation
X relevant folio is missing
• documented direct liturgical use
◦ documented indirect liturgical use
~ no liturgical use documented in extant typika
[] ambiguous vocabulary, relevant to more than one Christological scene
Apollinarios “Apollinarios von Laodicea zu Psalm 1 bis 50,” in *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*, 3 vols., ed. E. Mühlberg (Berlin–New York, 1975–78), 1:3–118. [CPG Supp. 3681]
Asterios *Asterii sophistae commentariorum in psalmos quae supersunt accedunt aliquot homiliae anonymae*, ed. M. Richard (Oslo, 1956). [CPG 2815]
Athanasios of Alexandria *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:59–590

Psalm commentators	Liturgical use				
	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Cath. rite	Monast. rite	Description and sources
Basil, 236C, Pseudo-Athanasios, 669C–D	15r	33v	•	•	Prokeimenon before Mark 16:1–8 at matins, TGC 2:170; prokeimenon 2nd Sunday after Easter, TSM 261.
–	–	–	•	•	Prokeimenon after Holy Saturday matins, TGC 2:82, TSM 324; prokeimenon before John 20:1–10 at matins, TGC 2:72.
Eusebios, 141B, Didymos, 1.116.78	27v	–	•	•	Prokeimenon before Matt. 28:16–20 at matins (all other readings concern the Resurrection), TGC 2:172; prokeimenon on Sunday after Easter, TSM 257.
–	70r	69r	o	~	Vocabulary similar to a troparion sung on Holy Saturday, TGC 2:82. ^a
–	–	–	~	~	~
Origen, 1428B–C, Didymos, 1.335.452	112r	–	•	•	After the matins on Holy Saturday, TGC 2:82, TSM 243; prokeimenon before Luke 24:1–12 at matins, TGC 2:170.
Eusebios, 681D, Didymos, 2.63.681, Theodoret, 1376A	202r	–	•	•	Sung at the alleluia on Holy Saturday, TGC 2:82, TSM 243; extensively used on Easter Sunday, TSM 248–49, 251. Cf. no. 8.
Athanasios, 293B–D, Didymos, 2.65.686, Cyril of Alexandria, 1145C–D	204r	120v	•	•	The entire psalm was the third antiphon on Easter Sunday and on the following week, TGC 2:94, TSM 328.
Pseudo-Athanasios, 984C	–	–	•	~	Koinonikon on Holy Saturday, TGC 2:90.
–	–	–	•	~	Prokeimenon before Luke 24:36–53 at matins, TGC 2:172.
Asterios, 135:6, Pseudo-Athanasios, 1001C	271r	150v	•	•	Sung instead of the alleluia on Holy Saturday, TGC 2:90, TSM 246.
Eusebios, 1257C–D, Hesychios, 1276A	313v	176r	•	•	Sung as the first stichos in the Divine Liturgy on Easter Sunday, TGC 2:94; alleluia verse on Easter Sunday TSM 250.
Theodoret, 1741A	335r	190r	o		Used in Easter, and in Easter hymns by Anatolios, John of Damascus, and others (unspecified rite). ^b

Basil *Homiliae in psalmos*, PG 29:209–494. [CPG 2836]
Cyril of Alexandria *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:699–1274. [CPG 5202]
Didymos “Didymus der Blinde zu Psalm 1 bis 150,” in *Psalmenkommentare aus der Ketenenüberlieferung*, ed. Mühlberg, 1:121–375, 2:3–367. [CPG Supp. 2551]
Eusebios of Caesarea *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:63–1396. [CPG 3467]
Hesychios of Jerusalem *Fragmenta in psalmos*, PG 93:1179–340. [CPG 6554]
Origen *Libri in psalmos*, PG 12:1053–686. [CPG 1426]
Pseudo-Athanasios *De titulis psalmorum*, PG 27:649–1344. [Now identified as Hesychios of Jerusalem, CPG 6552]
Pseudo-Chrysostom *Argumentum psalmorum* and *In psalmos*, PG 55:533–784. [CPG 4542–43]
Theodoret of Cyrus *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:857–2002. [CPG 6202]
TGC Typikon of the Great Church: *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, X^e siècle, ed. and trans. J. Mateos, 2 vols. (Rome, 1962–63).
TSM Typikon of the Savior at Messina: *Le typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine, codex Messinensis gr. 115, A.D. 1131*, ed. and trans. M. Arranz (Rome, 1969).

the text. In these tables, the Christological scenes of the eleventh-century Theodore, Barberini, and Bristol Psalters are also taken into consideration, since they offer some indication of the subjects that had probably been depicted in the ninth-century marginal psalters but are now missing along with their accompanying verses.⁶² The Christological themes examined are those most frequently depicted in the psalters, and therefore most appropriate for quantitative and comparative investigation. For the same practical reasons, the investigation does not follow the chronological order of the events in Christ's life, but starts from the most frequently represented and progresses to the less frequently represented.

Christ's Resurrection

Christ's Resurrection is the most frequently applied Christological interpretation of the psalms in the surviving commentaries, and the most frequently represented episode in the ninth-century marginal psalters. It appears in several versions: Christ rising from the Tomb, the Anastasis (Jesus defeating Hades and raising Adam and Eve), the Myrophores (the Holy Women at the Tomb), and David standing next to Christ's Sepulcher. Because the Resurrection appears so frequently in the textual and visual material discussed here, it is the perfect case study for a quantitative analysis. It provides data for the identification of a specific pattern of liturgical influence, which can then be tested and verified through the analysis of other, less frequently represented Christological scenes.

Taking into account all three ninth-century marginal psalters (including indications from the Theodore and Barberini Psalters for the missing folios), Christ's Resurrection is depicted alongside thirteen different verses in one or another of the iconographic versions mentioned above (table 1). One of these verses has no liturgical or patristic associations, but is very similar in its wording to another verse of the same psalm that has both (table 1, nos. 5–6). Ten of the thirteen verses have a direct liturgical affiliation: according to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, they are used in the offices of Holy Saturday, Easter Sunday, or the week after Easter, or

they are sung as prokeimena before Gospel readings of the matins, which have as their theme the Resurrection (table 1, nos. 1–3, 6–12). Two more verses have an indirect liturgical affiliation: they are part of or are similar to Easter hymns that at least in one case were sung in Hagia Sophia (table 1, nos. 4, 13). However, only ten of these thirteen verses are related to the Resurrection in my commentary sources (table 1, nos. 1, 3–4, 6–9, 11–13). These numbers give a slight precedence to the liturgical rather than the exegetical factor as the motivation for the illustration of the ninth-century psalters. But this small difference is only an indication of, not a conclusive proof for, the preponderance of the liturgical factor. We shall have to examine all the psalm verses that were interpreted as prophecies of Christ's Resurrection in the commentaries, but not illustrated as such in the psalters, to reach a more solid conclusion. It should also be noted that all thirteen verses illustrated with a Resurrection miniature contain words easily related to this Christological event such as "rise," "stand up," "save us," "he crushed the bronze gates," etc. Consequently, the wording of those psalm verses that were interpreted as prophecies of the Resurrection but are not accordingly illustrated must be taken into consideration in the search for reasons that can explain the absence of such an illustration.

According to the published psalm commentaries and the catena manuscripts I have consulted, fifty-five psalms other than those already examined (and sometimes more than one verse in each psalm, for a total of eighty passages) were considered as prophetic references to Christ's Resurrection (table 2). I would like to suggest that the principal reason they were not chosen to be illustrated with a miniature of Christ's Resurrection is that most of them were not used in the liturgical celebration of that event. Of the fifty-five psalms, only eight were employed in services relevant to the Resurrection according to the *Typikon of the Great Church* (table 2, nos. 2, 24, 30, 43–45, 51–52), and one more is related to Easter celebrations although it is not mentioned in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (table 2, no. 13). In only three of these cases could the wording have inspired an illustration of Christ's Resurrection (table 2, nos. 2, 13, 52). Six more psalms were part of the celebration of Easter or of the following weeks according to the monastic *Typikon of the Savior* (table 2, nos. 1, 11, 23, 32, 46, 55), but only in two cases can the wording be considered relevant (table 2, nos. 11, 23).

Text continues on page 82.

62 See notes 7–8, above, for the relationship between these manuscripts and the ninth-century psalters.

TABLE 2. Psalms that were interpreted as prophetic of Christ’s Resurrection in Byzantine psalm commentaries, but were not so illustrated in the ninth- and eleventh-century marginal psalters

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
1	2:1	—	Asterios, 7:16 ff.	—	—	~	•	Ps. 2 was the psalm for the Easter kathismata, TSM 329.
	2:10	—	Didymos, 1.125.9	5v	27v			
2	3:6	I lay down and slept; I awaked	Origen, 1125B–1129C; Eusebios, 96–97	7r	29r	•	•	Ps. 3:6 was sung at matins on Easter Sunday, TGC 2:92; Ps. 3 was the psalm for the Easter kathismata, TSM 329.
	3:7–9	Arise, Lord; deliver me, my God	Pseudo-Athanasios, 659B–C; Cyril, 729A–C	7v	—			
3	4:4	The Lord has done wondrous things	Didymos, 1.129.19	—	—	~	~	~
	4:9	I will lie down in peace and sleep	Theodoret, 888C–D, 893C–D	11r	30v			
4	5:4	In the morning you shall hear my voice, in the morning will I present myself to you	Asterios, 74.11–18	—	—	~	~	~
5	Title	Among the hymns for the eight	Eusebios, 120A; Athanasios, 76D; Asterios, 82–86, 256	13v	—	~	~	~
	6:5–6	Return, O Lord deliver my soul . . . who will acknowledge you in Hades?	Origen, 1061B–C	—	—			
6	8:2	—	Asterios, 105, 107; Cyril, 757A	18v–19r	—	~	~	~
	8:10	—	Didymos, 1.148.51	—	—			
7	15:8–11	. . . You shall not leave my soul in Hades, neither shall you allow your Holy One to see corruption	Origen, 1216A–B; Asterios, 135, 225; Didymos, 1.180.97; Theodoret, 961–65	33r–33v	45v	~	~	~
8	16:3	—	Eusebios, 161A–B	34r	—	~	~	~
	16:13–14	Arise, O Lord	—	—	46r			
9	17:8	The earth shook and became fearful (cf. Matt. 28:2)	Athanasios, 109C	—	—	~	~	~
	17:47	The Lord lives . . . and let the God of my salvation be exalted	Theodoret, 988B	41v	50v			
10	19:5–7	. . . The Lord saved his Christ (anointed)	Athanasios, 125D–128A	44r	53r	~	~	~

TABLE 2. Continued

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
11	20:5–8	He asked life of you and you gave him length of days . . . his glory is great in your salvation. . . .	Origen, 1249C; Didymos, 1.219.167	45r	53v	~	•	Ps. 20 was a fixed psalm on the 2nd Monday after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 329.
12	Title	Concerning the morning aid	Eusebios, 201C–D; Athanasios, 132A; Cyril, 837B–C	46r	54v	~	~	~
	21:20–22	O Lord . . . be ready for my aid . . . save me from the lion’s mouth	Didymos, 1.230.188	48r	56r			
13	Title	A psalm . . . on the first day of the week	Cyril, 844C; Theodoret, 1029A	50v	57v	o		Allusions to Ps. 23:7–10 appear in hymns for Easter and Holy Week and in the Sunday Divine Liturgy, which is a weekly celebration of the Resurrection (unspecified rite). ^a
	23:7–10	Lift up your gates . . . and the king of glory shall come	Pseudo-Athanasios, 732D	–	58r			
14	27:7	. . . My flesh has revived	Athanasios, 149D; Pseudo-Athanasios, 748D	57v	62r	~	~	~
15	29:1, 3–4	Lord, you have brought up my soul from Hades	Eusebios 257D; Didymos, 1.262.262	61r–v	63v–64r	~	~	~
	29:6	For . . . life is in his will and . . . joy in the morning	Theodoret, 1073A–B	62r–v	64r–v			
	29:9–12	. . . You turned my mourning into a dance for me	Eusebios, 261D					
16	32:10	—	Athanasios, 165B	70r	69r	~	~	~
17	34:2–4	. . . Arise for my help	Cyril, 896C	77v, 78r	71v	~	~	~
	34:17	—	Cyril, 905C–D	81r	73r			
	34:23–25	Awake, O Lord. . . .	Eusebios, 313B–C	82r	73v			

^a S.G. Tsuji, “Destruction des portes de l’Enfer et ouverture des portes du Paradis, à propos des illustrations du Psaume 23,7–10 et du Psaume 117,19–20,” *CahArch* 31 (1983): 11.

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
18	39:2–4	... And he brought me out of a pit of misery, and from miry clay. ...	Apollinarios, 14.32	98r–v	81r–v	~	~	~
19	40:9	... Surely, he who sleeps shall not rise up?	Origen, 1413B; Athanasios, 197D; Didymos, 1.322–23.418; Cyril, 996D; Theodoret, 1165B	103r	83r	~	~	~
	40:11	You, Lord, have mercy on me and raise me and I will repay them	Athanasios, 200A; Cyril, 997A–D; Theodoret, 1168A–B	103r	83r			
20	44:9	–	Basil, 403C–408A	–	89r	~	~	~
21	45:6	God is in the midst of her ... God shall help her towards the morning	Basil, 425A; Cyril, 1048D	121r	–	~	~	~
22	48:16	But God shall deliver my soul from the hand of Hades, when he receives me	Basil, 453C	131v	96r	~	~	~
23	50:10	You shall cause me to hear gladness and joy; the afflicted bones shall rejoice	Athanasios, 241C; Apollinarios, 36.93	139r	99v	~	•	Ps. 50 was a fixed psalm on the Sunday after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 330.
24	54:17	–	Eusebios, 484D	–	–	•	•	Ps. 54:17 was sung at vespers on the first Wednesday after Easter, <i>TGC</i> 2:102, <i>TSM</i> 254.
	54:18–20	Evening, and morning ... he shall deliver my soul in peace. ...	Origen, 1469A; Eusebios, 484D–485A; Hesychios, 1220A	153v	104v	~	~	~
25	57:7–9	–	Athanasios, 257D–260A	168v	108v	~	~	~

TABLE 2. Continued

						Liturgical use		
No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
26	Title	–	Theodoret, 1304B–C	171r	109r	~	~	~
	58:17	... In the morning I shall rejoice in thy mercy	Eusebios, 549D–552A	177r	110v			
27	60:7–8	–	Theodoret, 1323B–C	–	–	~	~	~
28	62:3	[... I might see thy power and thy glory]	Pseudo-Athanasios, 896C	–	115r	~	~	~
	62:10	–	Eusebios, 612	192v	115v			
	62:12	–	Athanasios, 280D					
29	64:14	–	Didymos, 2.54–55.660a	–	–	~	~	~
30	65:1–3	[Shout unto God, all the earth... how awesome are thy works!]	Cyril, 1133A, Didymos, 2.55.661	198r	118r	•	•	Ps. 65 was sung at vespers of Holy Saturday. It was also the antiphonal psalm for Easter Sunday and for the following week, <i>TGC</i> 2:84, 94, <i>TSM</i> 249.
31	68:3	–	Cyril, 1161CD	213v	123r	~	~	~
	68:14–15	–	Cyril, 1163C; Eusebios, 744B–745A	216r	124v			
	68:21	–	–	217r	–			
	68:30	–	Eusebios, 760A; Pseudo-Athan., 928D					
32	69:5	–	Eusebios, 772C	–	–	~	•	Ps. 69 was a fixed psalm on Sunday after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 330.
33	70:19–21	... Having turned you revived me, and from the depths of the earth you brought me up again	Origen, 1520C; Eusebios, 785C–D; Athanasios, 321A–B; Theodoret, 1428A	226v	128v	~	~	~

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
34	75:6	—	Pseudo-Athanasios, 960D (about the guards at Christ's Tomb)	—	—	~	~	~
35	77:5	—	Eusebios, 908B–C	265r	139v	~	~	~
36	78:11	—	—	—	146r	~	~	~
37	Title	—	Didymos, 2.140.830	—	—	~	~	~
	80:2	—	Didymos, 2.140.831	—	—			
38	83:3	My heart and my flesh rejoiced in the living God	Theodoret, 1540A–B	—	—	~	~	~
	83:11	[For one day in your courts is better than thousands]	Eusebios, 1013C–1010A; Athanasios, 369B	274r	152v			
39	85:12–13	... For your mercy is great toward me; and you delivered my soul from the lowest Hades	Athanasios, 376B–C; Apollinaris, 56.141; Theodoret, 1560B–C	277v–278r	—	~	~	~
40	87:4–5	... My life has touched Hades ... free among the dead	Athanasios, 380B–C; Pseudo-Athanasios, 1020D; Didymos, 2.160.871	280r	156v	~	~	~
	87:10–14	... Will you show your wonders to the dead? ... In the morning my prayer will reach you	Eusebios, 1061C–1064C	281v	157v			
41	88:23–30	—	Eusebios, 1097D; Athanasios, 388D	286v, 287r	160r	~	~	~
	88:47–50	... Who is he who ... will save his soul from the hand of Hades?	Eusebios, 1120A–B; Pseudo-Athanasios, 1036B	—	161v			
42	89:14	We have been satisfied in the morning with your mercy; and we rejoiced and were glad in all our days	—	—	163v	~	~	~

TABLE 2. *Continued*

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
43	91:2	—	Athanasios, 404C	—	—			
	91:5	—	—	—	166r	•	•	Ps. 91:2 was the “prokeimenon of the Resurrection,” <i>TGC</i> 2:176; Ps. 91 was the antiphon on various feasts, including the days after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 328.
44	92:1–2	—	Eusebios, 1184B–1185C; Athanasios, 408B	297v	167r	•	•	Ps. 92 was the antiphon on various feasts, including days after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 328; v. 1 was the prokeimenon of the baptismal rite on Holy Saturday, <i>TGC</i> 2:86, and the verse of the alleluia on the Saturday after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 255.
45	95:2–3	—	Pseudo-Athanasios, 1061C, Didymos, 2.200.930	303r	170r			Ps. 95:10 was the prokeimenon before Mark 16:9–20 at matins, <i>TGC</i> 2:170; 95:2 was the prokeimenon on Annunciation when on Easter Sunday; and 95:10 was the prokeimenon on the 3rd Sunday after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 142, 263.
	95:9–10	—	Pseudo-Chrysostom, 774	304r	—	•	•	

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
46	103:15	–	–	320V	–	~	•	Ps. 103 was a fixed psalm on the Sunday after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 330.
	103:22	–	Pseudo-Athanasios, 1096C–D; Hesychios, 1289A–B	321V	181r			
47	107:3	... I will awake early	Hesychios, 1309B–D	338r–v	192r	~	~	~
48	108:25–29	–	Eusebios, 1339A–B; Hesychios, 1320D	342v	195r	~	~	~
49	109:3	–	Didymos, 2.254.1039	344r	–	~	~	~
50	114:8	For he has delivered my soul from death	Basil, 492C	–	–	~	~	~
51	117:24	–	Origen, 1584C; Athanasios, 480A; Theodoret, 1817A	359v	205r	•	•	Ps. 117 was the prokeimenon at the Divine Liturgy of Easter Sunday, <i>TGC</i> 2:94, <i>TSM</i> 248.
52	131:8	Arise, O Lord	–	–	223v	•	~	Ps. 131:8 was the prokeimenon for the gospel readings at matins (mostly concerning the Resurrection), <i>TGC</i> 2:172.
	131:14	–	Athanasios, 521D	–	–			
53	138:16	–	–	–	230r	~	~	~
	138:18	... I have awakened, and am still with you	Origen, 1664A	–	–			
54	142:8	Cause me to hear your mercy in the morning	Athanasios, 541C	–	235r	~	~	~
55	148:7	–	Didymos, 2.260.1280	–	–	~	•	Ps. 148 was the antiphon of matins on the 5th Wednesday after Easter, <i>TSM</i> 268.

Text continued from page 74.

Of the forty-seven psalms in table 2 for which no liturgical usage is reported in the *Typikon of the Great Church*, the wording of at least twenty-eight would be more or less suitable for illustration with the Resurrection. The psalms refer to salvation from death or Hades, they ask the Lord to rise, stand up, or save his people, or they include the word “morning,” which was consistently taken by psalm commentators to allude to the hour of the Resurrection. Reference to the number eight in the psalms would also have been recognized by well-educated clergymen as an allusion to the Resurrection, due to the relevant interpretation of the “eighth day” or the “first day of the week” in patristic tradition (cf. Table 2, nos. 5, 13).⁶³ Since none of these psalms was illustrated with the Resurrection, it is obvious that a relevant reference in the commentaries and an appropriate vocabulary were not sufficient to inspire a Resurrection miniature. The decisive factor for illustrating a psalm verse with this Christological event seems to have been its use in the liturgy. Yet this alone is not enough; the vocabulary of the verse must also be appropriate. For example, psalms that were employed in the liturgical celebration of the Resurrection according to the *Typikon of the Great Church* (although they were not interpreted accordingly in the psalm commentaries) but do not contain a vocabulary that obviously refers to this event are not illustrated accordingly in the ninth-century marginal psalters.⁶⁴

Some specific examples will further indicate the importance of both liturgical affiliations and appropriate vocabulary as prominent factors in the choice of illustration subject matter in the ninth-century marginal psalters. In the following three cases, psalm verses are related to more than one Christological event in the commentaries (and their vocabulary supports all such references), but the event illustrated in the marginal psalters is the one with liturgical affiliations.

63 Table 2, numbers 3–5, 7–12, 14–15, 17–19, 21–23, 26, 33, 38–42, 47, 50, 53–54.

64 This is the case of Psalms 26:1a, 1b, and 3 (at Vespers of Holy Saturday), 31:1 and 2 (after the baptismal rite on Holy Saturday), 76:14b–15a, 11, 12, and 15b (after Vespers on Sunday of Easter), and 32:22, 1, and 3 (prokeimena *anastasima*, “of the Resurrection”); Mateos, *Grande Église* (n. 26 above), 2:84, 88, 96, 174. In the patristic sources and catena manuscripts at my disposal, these psalms were not related to Christ’s Resurrection.

Psalm 40

According to the catena manuscripts and the published psalm commentaries that I have consulted, verses 9 and 11 of Psalm 40 (table 2, no. 19) are related to Christ’s Resurrection: “They were speaking unlawfully about me. Now that he sleeps, shall he not rise up again? . . . you, Lord, have mercy on me and raise me and I will repay them.” Likewise, verses 6 and 7 are related to the Jews and Judas respectively: “My enemies have spoken badly of me. When will he die and his name perish? Whenever he would come to see me, he would speak falsely; his heart gathered slander; then he would go out and spread it abroad.”⁶⁵ Finally, verse 10 is related to the Last Supper and the betrayal by the faithless disciple: “Even my close friend, whom I trusted, he who shared my bread, has lifted up his heel against me.”⁶⁶ The wording of all these verses fits their respective Christological interpretations. However, in the Chludov Psalter the only themes represented are those that have, in addition to patristic justification, liturgical affiliations. According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, verses 2, 6, and 10–11 were chanted as prokeimena on Maundy Thursday, with a similar liturgical usage recorded in the *Typikon of the Savior*,⁶⁷ while the verses interpreted as prophecies of the Resurrection were not used in the Easter liturgy. Thus, no miniature of the Resurrection appears, but rather there is depicted Judas talking against his master to the Jews and the Last Supper with the traitor turning his back to Christ alongside verses 6–12.⁶⁸

65 Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, PG 12:1413A–C; Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:197B–C; Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:996A–C; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:1164C–1165B.

66 This interpretation appears also in John 13:18. Cf. Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:200A; Cyril (of Alexandria), *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:997A; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:1165C.

67 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:74. According to the *Typikon of the Savior*, verses 2.10b–11 are sung at the alleluia on Maundy Thursday (Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur* [n. 27 above], 236).

68 The miniatures appear on fol. 40v, and the only reference sign that I see is the blue mark above Judas’s head, which reappears between verses 7 and 8. In my opinion, the sign was intended specifically to relate Judas with the word *ἀνομία* (“unlawfulness”) of verse 7, which is found exactly above the mark. (The word right below it, *ἐξεπορεύετο*, “he would go out,” could be taken to allude to Judas departing from the Last Supper to perpetrate his betrayal, but is not as indicative of his sinfulness as the word *ἀνομία*. The sign might have been used to draw attention to each word as complementing the other’s allusion to the betrayal.) The miniature of Judas talking

Psalm 87

In the catena manuscripts and the published psalm commentaries I have consulted, Psalm 87:6–7 is related to Christ's Entombment: "Like the wounded sleeping in a grave . . . they placed me in the lowest pit, in the darkness and shadow of death."⁶⁹ Verses 4–5 are related to Christ's Descent into the underworld, and verses 11–14 to his Resurrection (table 2, no. 40):

For my soul has been filled with trouble and my life has touched Hades; I was born as a helpless man, free among the dead . . . will you show your wonders to the dead? Will the doctors raise the dead so they will praise you? Will your mercy be declared in the grave, your truthfulness in destruction? Will your wonders be known in the place of darkness, or your righteous deeds in the land of oblivion? And I cried to you, O Lord, and in the morning my prayer will come before you.⁷⁰

The wording of the above verses could have equally inspired a representation of Christ's Entombment and one of his Anastasis. Once again, in the Chludov and the Pantokrator Psalters the event illustrated is the one with liturgical affiliations. According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, verses 7 and 2–3 of Psalm 87 were prokeimena at vespers of Holy Friday (a similar liturgical usage is recorded in the *Typikon of the Savior*), while the verses interpreted as prophecies of the Resurrection were not used in the Easter liturgy.⁷¹

to the Jews appears right where verse 6 ends and alongside verses 7–9, and I believe the planner and viewers of the illustration would have related it to all these verses that have a common theme and vocabulary (e.g., the word ἐχθροί, "enemies," is used both in verse 6 and verse 8 and reappears in the singular in verse 12). Ščepkina, *Miniatury* (n. 4 above), relates the Judas miniature only to verses 8–9, but there is no justification for such a limited reference. The Last Supper appears right under verse 12, but it is obvious that the planner and users of the manuscript would have also related it to verse 10 as well ("he who shared my bread, has lifted up his heel against me"). The Pantokrator and the Paris marginal Psalters are lacking the pertinent folios. See Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* (n. 5 above), 15–16, 41, for information on which psalms are missing from these two psalters.

69 Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:1057C–D (cf. A–B); Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:380C.

70 See table 2, number 40 for references to the relevant psalm commentaries. The word "morning," which appears in verse 14, was regularly interpreted by commentators as prophetic of Christ's resurrection in references throughout the psalter.

71 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:80. In the *Typikon of the Savior*, verses 7 and 2 are prokeimena and accompany the troparia at the ninth

Thus, the Entombment is depicted in both ninth-century marginal psalters in relation to Psalm 87:7, while no miniature of the Anastasis appears.⁷²

Psalm 88

In the catena manuscripts and the published psalm commentaries I have consulted, verses 23–30 and 47–49 of Psalm 88 (table 2, no. 41) are related to Christ's Resurrection. Of these, verse 49 employs vocabulary that could be easily linked to the event: "Who is the man who will live and will not see death? Who is he who will save his soul from the hand of Hades?" On the other hand, verse 13 is related to Christ's Transfiguration, because of the reference to Mount Thabor, where this Christological event was believed to have taken place: "You created the north and the seas. Thabor and Hermon will rejoice in your name."⁷³ According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, verses 12–13 were sung at the alleluia of the liturgy for the celebration of the Transfiguration on 6 August (a similar liturgical usage is recorded in the *Typikon of the Savior*),⁷⁴ while the verses interpreted as prophecies of the Resurrection were not used in the Easter liturgy. As one might expect, in the Chludov Psalter it is verse 13 that has been chosen for illustration with the scene of the Transfiguration.⁷⁵

The importance of relevant vocabulary in combination with liturgical affiliations is even more evident in those cases where a psalm is employed in the liturgical celebration of more than one Christological feast, but the event illustrated is usually the one more appropriate to the wording of the psalm text. The following examples clearly illustrate this case.

hour and at vespers of Good Friday (Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 241–42).

72 Chludov Psalter, fol. 87r; Pantokrator Psalter, fol. 122r. The Paris marginal Psalter is lacking the pertinent folio. See Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 32, 41, pl. 19.

73 Origen, *Selecta in psalmos*, PG 12:1548D; Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:1092D.

74 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 1:360. In the *Typikon of the Savior*, verses 13b and 2 are prokeimena at matins of 6 August, and on the same day Ps. 88:12 and 16 is sung at the alleluia, 88:16b–17 is the koinonikon, and 88:2 and 13b accompany the troparia (Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 175–77).

75 Fol. 88v. The relevant folio (124) is mutilated in the Pantokrator and lacking in the Paris marginal Psalter (Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 16, 41).

Psalm 23

Psalm 23:7–10 (table 2, no. 13; table 7, no. 2) is interpreted in commentaries as referring both to Christ's Resurrection and his Ascension, and it is also used in hymns composed for the liturgical celebration of both events. In the Chludov Psalter, the event illustrated is the Ascension rather than the Resurrection, although the inscription next to the image makes reference to both: "Lift the gates of heaven and of Hades."⁷⁶ As Sahoko Tsuji has observed, theologically the two events are interrelated, as the breaking of the gates of Hades and Christ's triumph over death lead to the lifting of the gates of heaven for the triumphant arrival of the ascending Pantokrator.⁷⁷ It is worth asking why the Chludov miniature emphasizes the Ascension rather than the Resurrection. The wording provides a plausible answer. Psalm 23:7–10 reads: "Lift up your gates, you princes; be lifted up, you eternal gates, so that the King of glory may come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle. Lift up your gates, O princes; be lifted up, you eternal gates, so that the King of glory may come in. Who is he, this King of glory? The Lord of the powers—he is the King of glory." When related to the Resurrection, these verses might be taken to allude to the moment when Christ breaks the gates of the underworld to liberate the just from the bonds of death (and in this context, the reference to "the Lord mighty in battle" is fitting).⁷⁸ When related to the Ascension, the same verses might allude to the opening of the gates of heaven for the arrival of Christ Pantokrator. In fact, certain details in the wording of these verses might be more compatible with this event, rather than Christ's descent into the underworld. In Christian cosmology, the gates of heaven are certainly more ancient, and therefore more fittingly described as

"eternal," than the gates of the underworld (created after heaven, after the fall of some of the angels, and after the sin of Adam and Eve, which led to the subjection of humankind to death). The triumph of Christ over death and the final resurrection of the just on the Day of the Last Judgment also imply that the gates of Hades are not eternal. The "princes" and the "powers" over whom the King rules are more reminiscent of the angels of the heavenly realm than the demons of Hell, who follow the orders of the Devil. The gates of the underworld were not willingly opened by the powers of darkness, but were forcibly broken by Jesus, while the gates of heaven were not violated when Christ entered them accompanied by his "princess." Therefore the psalm reference to the eternal gates that must open for the royal arrival is more compatible with the story of the Ascension.

It is also worthy of notice that Psalm 23:7 was used in the Byzantine liturgy at the consecration of churches,⁷⁹ and according to the *Typikon of the Great Church* it was also employed in the annual commemoration of the consecration of important churches of the capital.⁸⁰ In other words, this psalm was connected with the dedication of a holy space to God and his triumphal entry into it. Such an occasion is analogous to the reentry of Christ Pantokrator into heaven after his Ascension, especially since a Christian church was perceived by the faithful as heaven on earth.⁸¹ The liturgical use of Psalm 23 for the

76 Fol. 22r, "ΑΠΑΤΕ ΠΥΛΑC ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΔΟΥ." The relevant folios are missing in the Pantokrator and Paris marginal Psalters.

77 S. G. Tsuji, "Destruction des portes de l'Enfer et ouverture des portes du Paradis, à propos des illustrations du Psaume 23, 7–10 et du Psaume 117, 19–20," *CahArch* 31 (1983): 5–33, with reference to the illustration of Psalm 23 in a number of eastern and western medieval manuscripts.

78 Indeed, on folio 29v of the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter, which is supposed to depend on a model common in Byzantium and the West, Psalm 23:24 is illustrated with Christ breaking the gates of the underworld. See A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), 85–86, fig. 19.

79 It is mentioned, for example, in the 8th-c. Barberini euchologion (cod. Vat. Barberin. gr. 336), S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, eds., *L'eucologio Barberini gr. 336* (Rome, 1995), 172 (prayer 156.3). See also the *Typikon of the Great Church* in Mateos, *Grande Église* (n. 26 above), 1:186.

80 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 1:16.17–21 (6 September, dedication of the chapel of the Theotokos in the church of St. Anna); 1:138.13–20 (18 December, dedication of the church of Chalkoprateia); 1:146.10–21 (23 December, dedication of Hagia Sophia; cf. 1:144.25–27, 22 December, Psalm 23:7 chanted as the nave gates of Hagia Sophia are opened, a celebration that seems connected both with the feast of the following day and with the approach of Christmas); 1:334.7–9, 19 (9 July, dedication of the church of Pege); 1:344.23–26 (18 July, dedication of the church of Theotokos Kallistratou); 1:354.10–15 (31 July, dedication of the church of Blachernai).

81 For example, see the reference by Germanos I of Constantinople in his *Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation* 1, "The church is an earthly heaven in which the supercelestial God dwells and walks about." P. Meyendorff, ed. and trans., *St. Germanos of Constantinople: On the Divine Liturgy* (New York, 1984), 56–57. Compare the decoration of Byzantine or Byzantine-inspired church doors with themes that refer to the entrance of the faithful into paradise, as discussed by M. English Frazer, "Church Doors and the

consecration of churches could have been another source of inspiration for the positive visual interpretation of the “lifted gates” as those of heaven (rather than those of hell) in the relevant Chludov miniature. Although it is impossible to know if the people who planned the illustration of the Byzantine marginal psalters rationalized in such a way, it is worth considering it, given that commentary sources and liturgical practice could have inspired either a representation of the Anastasis or of the Ascension. What is certain is that the people responsible for the illustration of these psalters were often faced with multiple options. They had to choose subjects among different sources of inspiration and various possibilities, and it is worth investigating patterns that might explain their decisions and illuminate their criteria. The following example, as well as more evidence presented below, further indicates that appropriate wording was an important factor in the illustration of the marginal psalters with specific Christological episodes.

Psalm 117

According to the published commentaries and catena manuscripts that I have consulted, Psalm 117:24 (table 2, no. 51) is a prophetic reference to the Resurrection: “This is the day which the Lord has made; let us rejoice and be glad in it.” The same verse is used as a prokeimenon on Easter Sunday, according to both the *Typikon of the Great Church* and the *Typikon of the Savior*. However, its wording does not make an obvious reference to Christ’s Resurrection, and it is not illustrated with a relevant image in the Byzantine marginal psalters. Verse 26 of the same psalm reads: “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. From the house of the Lord we bless you.” This verse is related to Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem both in the Gospels and in psalm commentaries,⁸² as well as in the liturgical celebration of the corresponding feast—according to the *Typikon of the Great Church* this verse is the koinonikon on Palm Sunday, and according to

the *Typikon of the Savior* it is the prokeimenon on the same day.⁸³ According to the same liturgical sources, Psalm 117 is the third antiphon on the feast of the Epiphany (Christ’s Baptism), and verses 26–27a are prokeimena on the same occasion.⁸⁴ On the other hand, no psalm commentaries of which I am aware interpret these verses as prophetic of Christ’s Baptism, and the text does not include words that could be considered obvious allusions specifically to this event (no mention of water). In sum, verses 24 and 26 of Psalm 117 were liturgically employed in the celebration of the Resurrection, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Epiphany. Patristic commentaries mentioned the first two events; however, the vocabulary of the verses themselves allowed for an obvious connection with only the Entry into Jerusalem. Psalm 117:26 is indeed illustrated with the Entry into Jerusalem in the Theodore and the Barberini Psalters, suggesting that originally a similar miniature might have been contained in the Chludov and possibly also in the Pantokrator and the Paris marginal Psalters, which now lack the relevant folios.⁸⁵ The selection of the Christological event to be illustrated here may have been determined above all by the use of Psalm 117:26 in the Gospel narration of the Entry into Jerusalem, which must have influenced the relevant patristic interpretation and liturgical use of this verse. Since the Gospels were revered more than any other sacred text, their Christological interpretations of psalm verses would have been particularly well known and respected. On the other hand, this example might also indicate that in the Byzantine marginal psalters the selection of a psalm verse for illustration with an appropriate Christological scene depended largely on its liturgical employment on the respective feast day *and* on the appropriateness of its wording. The verse chosen for illustration among three possible options is the only one that in addition to biblical and patristic associations also has liturgical affiliations and relevant vocabulary. The following analysis will further demonstrate the importance of the latter two factors.

Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy,” *DOP* 27 (1973): 145–62.

82 Matthew 21:9 and Mark 11:9; mentioned by Walter, “Christological Themes” (n. 15 above), 272, no. 12. Origen, *Selecta in psalmos*, PG 12:1584C–D; Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:480B; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:1817B.

83 Mateos, *Grande Église* (n. 26 above), 2:66; Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur* (n. 27 above), 228–29.

84 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 1:186; Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 102–3.

85 Theodore Psalter, fol. 157 (Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs*, 53, fig. 255); Barberini Psalter, 202r (Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *The Barberini Psalter*, 134 [both n. 7 above]).

TABLE 3. Psalms illustrated with Christ’s Crucifixion, the Cross, or other related scenes in the ninth- and eleventh-century Byzantine marginal psalters

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalter					
			Chludov	Pantokrator	Paris	Theodore (London)	Barberini	Bristol
1	4:7	... Who will show us good things? The light of your countenance has been manifested (ἐσημειώθη)	4r	–	X	3v	9v	–
2	21:2	O God ... why have you forsaken me?	19r	10r	X	–	36r	–
	21:8	All who saw me mocked me. ...	19r	10r	X	–	–	–
3	21:17–19	... They pierced my hands and my feet. They counted my bones ... they parted my garments	20r	11v ^b	X	23r	37v	35v
4	45:7	The nations were troubled ... he uttered his voice, the earth shook	45v	X	X	–	79v ^c	–
5	68:22	They gave me also gall for my food, and made me drink vinegar for my thirst	67r	88v ^b	X	87v	114v	110r
6	73:12	But God ... has worked salvation in the midst of the earth	72v	98r	X	96r	124v	–
7	85:17	Establish with me a sign (“σημεῖον”) for good; and let them that hate me see it and be ashamed. ...	86r	–	X	115r	148v	–
8	98:5	Exalt the Lord our God, and worship at the footstool of his feet, for he is holy	98v	–	6v	131v	168r	–
9	98:9	Exalt the Lord our God, and worship at his holy mountain	–	140r	7r	–	–	–
10 ^f	131:7	Let us enter into his tabernacles; let us worship at the place where his feet stood	–	–	X	172v	223r	–

^a Cf. no. 7 on this table; see also Walter, “Christological Themes,” 280.
^b Folios mutilated. Miniatures reconstructed by Anderson, “Prolegomena” (n. 5 above), 309, 311.
^c Ps. 45:3.
^d See Walter, “Christological Themes,” 275, Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 83–85.
^e See also A. Cutler, “Liturgical Strata in the Marginal Psalters,” *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81): 22–23.
^f Illustration that did not exist in 9th-c. psalters, but added to 11th-c. ones.
^g Walter, “Christological Themes,” 286.

Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use		
			Cath. rite	Monast. rite	Description and sources
— ^a	—	—	•	•	Used as the koinonikon for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September, TGC 1:32, TSM 25
Origen, 1253A; Asterios, 134.25 ----- Eusebios, 208A–B; Athanasios, 133A (Ps. 21:7)	—	54v	•	•	21:2 was the prokeimenon at vespers of Good Friday, TGC 2:80, TSM 242, and the stichos of the troparia on same day, TSM 240–41
Origen, 1257B; Athanasios, 133D–136A; Pseudo-Athanasios, 725B–C; Theodoret, 1017A–B	48r	55v	•	•	21:19 was the prokeimenon at vespers of Good Friday, TGC 2:80, TSM 237; Ps. 21 was the antiphon of 14 Sept. and the fixed psalm of Good Friday, TSM 328, 329
Athanasios, 216C Life of Dionysios the Areopagite ^d	—	91v	~	•	Ps. 45 was the antiphon for matins of 13 Sept., the eve of the Exaltation of the Cross, TSM 328
Origen, 1516B; Eusebios, 749B; Athanasios, 321A; Pseudo-Athanasios, 925D; Didymos, 2.81–82.717; Cyril, 1169; Theodoret, 1409	217v	125r	•	•	68:2–3 and 21–23 were sung at the alleluia, vespers of Good Friday, TGC 2:80. Ps. 68 was the fixed psalm; 68:22, 24 were the prokeimenon; 68:2, 22 were sung at the alleluia and with the troparion of Good Friday, TSM 330, 240, 242
Eusebios, 861B; Athanasios, 336C	—	—	•	•	Sung at the alleluia of the Divine Liturgy, 14 Sept. (Exaltation of the Cross), TGC 1:32. Ps. 73:12, 2 were the prokeimenon at matins and Ps. 73 was the antiphon of 14 Sept., TSM 23, 25, 328
Theodoret, 1561A–B	—	—	~	•	Ps. 85 was the fixed psalm for the ninth hour of Good Friday (and other feasts, e.g., the eve of Christmas and Baptism, 24 Dec., 5 Jan.), TSM 330
Pseudo-Athanasios, 1072C; Pseudo-Chrysostom, 781; Hesychios, 1269A	—	173r	~	•	Prokeimenon on 14 September (Exaltation of the Cross), TSM 25 ^e
Hesychios, 1269B–C	310r	—	•	~	Prokeimenon at the Divine Liturgy on 14 September (Exaltation of the Cross), TGC 1:32
Pseudo-Chrysostom, 781	—	—	•	~	Quoted in a troparion sung on 14 September, and on the 4th Tuesday of Lent (veneration of the Cross), TGC 1:28, 2:40 ^g

Christ’s Crucifixion

The ninth-century marginal psalters include minia- tures of the Cross or Christ’s Crucifixion in relation to nine psalm passages that all have pertinent wording (table 3, nos. 1–9):⁸⁶ they either mention details corre- sponding to events of the Crucifixion (like the mock- ing, the piercing, the rending of garments, the breaking of bones, the gall and vinegar, or the earthquake), or use expressions traditionally associated with Golgotha and the Cross in patristic literature (like “holy mountain,” “center of the earth,” “footstool,” “sign,” and derivative words, i.e., σημείον and ἐσημειώθη). In the commentary sources I consulted, eight of these nine psalm verses are related to the Crucifixion (table 3, nos. 2–9), and a liturgical affiliation can be attested for seven of them (table 3, nos. 1–3, 5–6, 8–9).

86 Number 10 concerns a miniature that appears only in the elev- enth-century marginal psalters.

In the same commentary sources, sixteen psalms other than those already mentioned (and sometimes more than one verse in each psalm) are linked to Christ’s Passion on the Cross (table 4). The wording of at least nine of these verses might have prompted an illustration, since it can be related to the contempt the Jews showed toward Christ when he was hanging on the Cross, the abandonment by his disciples, the earthquake that took place during the Crucifixion, the redemption brought to humanity through Christ’s sacrifice, and so on (table 4, nos. 2–4, 6–9, 12, 14, 16). Nevertheless, not one of them is employed in the liturgical celebration of the Crucifixion according to the *Typikon of the Great Church* and, predictably, none is illustrated with a Crucifixion miniature in the ninth-century marginal psalters.⁸⁷ Likewise, ten psalms used in the liturgy of Maundy

87 According to the *Typikon of the Savior*, one of these psalms is related to the celebrations for Good Friday (table 4, number 14).

TABLE 4. Psalms that were interpreted as prophetic of Christ’s Passion on the Cross in Byzantine psalm commentaries, but were not illustrated accordingly in the ninth- and eleventh-century marginal psalters

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
1	19:6	[We will exult in your salvation, and in the name of our God shall we be magnified]	Origen, 1248B	–	–	~	~	~
2	30:6	Into your hands I will commit my spirit	Origen, 1300B	–	–	~	~	~
	30:12–14	I became a reproach among all mine enemies. . . .	Eusebios, 269B	64r	65r			
3	34:15–16	They rejoiced against me . . . they sneered at me	Eusebios, 308D–309A; Athanasios, 172C	80v	72v	~	~	~
	34:21	And they opened wide their mouth upon me. . . .	Athanasios, 175A	81v	–			
4	37:12	My friends and my neighbors . . . stood still; and my nearest of kin stood afar off	Apollinarios, 12.26	–	–	~	~	~
5	44:4	[Gird your sword]	Hesychios, 1196A–B (sword is the Cross)	–	–	~	~	~
	44:5	[Bend your bow]	Cf. Paris. gr. 146 (bow is the Cross)	–	88v			

TABLE 4. *Continued*

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris, gr. 146	Liturgical use		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
6	48:8–9	... Shall a man redeem? He shall not give to God his atonement and the price of the redemption of his soul	Basil, 440B–441C	129r–v	–	~	~	~
7	56:5	He delivered my soul ... As for the sons of men, their teeth are a weapon and arrows and their tongue a sharp dagger	Athanasios, 260C	163v	–	~	~	~
8	67:9	The earth quaked. ...	Theodoret, 1380C	–	–	~	~	~
9	70:10–11	For my enemies have spoken against me ... saying God has forsaken him. ...	Eusebios, 780B–C	–	–	~	~	~
10	75:4	[There (in Zion) he broke the power of the bows, the shield, and the sword, and the battle]	Pseudo-Athanasios, 960C	–	–	~	~	~
11	77:16	[And he brought water out of the rock]	Pseudo-Athanasios, 972D (the water that flowed from Christ's side on the Cross)	–	–	~	~	~
12	88:39–46	You rejected your Christ (anointed) ... he became a reproach to his neighbors ... you made all his enemies to rejoice. ...	Athanasios, 392B–C; Didymos, II.176.891a; Cyril, 1210B	288v	161r	~	~	~
13	107:8	[God has spoken in his sanctuary; I will be exalted, and will divide Sikima. ...]	Pseudo-Athanasios, 1133D	339r	192r	~	~	~
14	108:25	I became also a reproach to them; when they saw me they shook their heads	Athanasios, 460D; Hesychios, 1320C	342v	194v	~	•	Ps. 108 was the fixed psalm at the 9th hour of Good Friday, TSM 330
15	109:2–3	[The Lord sent out a rod of power for you out of Zion. ... With you is dominion in the day of your power]	Origen, 1569A; Hesychios, 1324B–C	344r	–	~	~	~
16	113:4	The mountains skipped like rams. ...	–	350v–351r	199v–200r	~	~	~
	113:8	[Who turned the rock into pools of water]	Hesychios, 1332B–C (cf. no. 11)					

TABLE 5. Psalms illustrated with Christ’s Baptism in the ninth- and eleventh-century Byzantine marginal psalters

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalter					
			Chludov	Pantokrator	Paris	Theodore (London)	Barberini	Bristol
1	28:3	The voice of the Lord is upon the waters, the God of glory thundered, the Lord over many waters	X	20r ^a	X	31r	47v	44v
2	73:13	... You broke to pieces the heads of the dragons in the water, and the depths were agitated, a great roaring of waters	72v	98r	X	–	125r	–
3	76:17	The waters saw you, O God, the waters saw you, and feared. . . .	75v	(3v, Petr. 265)	X	99r	29v	–
4	113:3, 5	The sea saw and fled, Jordan turned back	117r	164v	26v	154r	–	–
	113:8	who turned the rock into pools of water and the flint into springs of water	117r	–	26v	–	197r	–

^a Folio mutilated. Miniature reconstructed by Anderson, “Prolegomena” (n. 5 above), 310.
^b Walter, “Christological Themes,” 279.
^c Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration*, 52.
^d Compare the baptismal interpretation of the miracle at Horeb (referenced in Ps. 113:8 and other psalms), when Moses produced water out of a rock (Ex. 17:1–7, Num. 20:1–13), discussed by A. Semoglou, “L’icône sinaïte de la Crucifixion n. B 36 et son contenu ‘mosaïque’: La dialectique de la Passion,” *Iconographica* 4 (2005): 11–21, esp. 14–17, fig. 4 (he does not follow the Septuagint numbering of the Psalms employed here).

Thursday and Good Friday according to the *Typikon of the Great Church* (but not interpreted the same way in the commentaries) also remain unillustrated, since their wording is not appropriate to the Crucifixion.⁸⁸

Even though the present paper aims to highlight the importance of the liturgical factor in the illustration of Byzantine marginal psalters, the complexities of reference seen in the illustration of these manuscripts should not be ignored, and the miniatures representing Christ’s Crucifixion or the Cross offer some useful reminders

in this respect. For example, scholars have noted that the iconographic details of the miniature illustrating Psalm 45:7 on folio 45v of the Chludov Psalter (table 3, no. 4) also relate it to a tradition concerning the life of Dionysios the Areopagite.⁸⁹ In other words, it was not only the liturgy and the psalm commentaries that influenced the illustration of the ninth-century marginal psalters, but other patristic sources as well. Another case involves Psalms 4:7 and 85:17 (table 3, nos. 1 and 7), both of which are illustrated in the Chludov Psalter with the Cross bearing a circular image of Christ. The

88 Psalms 82:19 and 2; 75:12 and 2; 139:2 and 3; 58:2 and 3; 2:2, 12, 3–4, and 5; 40:2, 6, and 10–11; 69:2 and 3; 11:8, 2, 3, and 140; 34:1, 2, and 3 (Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:72–74, 78–80).
89 Walter, “Christological Themes,” 275; Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* (n. 3 above), 83–85.

Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use for the feast of the Epiphany (Christ's Baptism, 6 Jan.), and the eve of 5 Jan.			Description and sources
			Cath. rite	Monast. rite		
Basil, 289C–D; Didymos, I.260.255; Theodoret, 1065A	59r	63r	•	•		Ps. 28 was the antiphon at the eve of Epiphany, and 28:3 was sung at the alleluia of the feast proper (6 Jan.), TGC 1:180, 186, TSM 98, 103; Ps. 28:3 was the prokeimenon on 5–6 Jan., Ps. 28 was the fixed psalm on 5 Jan., TSM 95, 101, 329.
Hesychios, 1241D–1244A	242r	134v	~	•		Ps. 73 was recited on the 6th hour of 5 Jan., Ps. 73:14 was the stichos at the 9th hour, TSM 330, 96; allusions to Ps. 73 are found in the celebration of the Epiphany (unspecified rite). ^b
Eusebios, 896B–C; Asterios, 133:4–5; Cyril, 1192D	253v	138v	~	•		Prokeimenon on the 3rd hour of 5 Jan., and verse of the alleluia the first Sunday after 6 Jan., TSM 95, 104. Ps. 76 was recited at the 6th hour on 5 Jan., TSM 330; used by Sophronios of Jerusalem in his hymns for Epiphany (unspecified rite). ^c
–	350v	–				Psalm 113 was the antiphon on 6 Jan., and verses 1, 3, 5–6, and 11 were sung at vespers, TGC 1:186, TSM 102, 103; verses 3 and 5 of Ps. 113 were sung with the troparion on 6 Jan. and Ps. 113 was the fixed psalm for 5 Jan. TSM 103, 330.
– ^d	–	–	•	•		

words “ἐσημειώθη” (Psalm 4:7) and “σημεῖον” (Psalm 85:17) promote an association with the Cross. In the case of Psalm 4:7, this connection appears only in the liturgical employment of the verse as a koinonikon on 14 September, when the Exaltation of the Cross is celebrated (table 3, no. 1). In the case of Psalm 85:17, it is only the psalm commentary of Theodoret that interprets the word “σημεῖον” as a reference to the Cross (table 3, no. 7). The fact that both verses are illustrated in the Chludov Psalter could indicate that the designer of the illustration either was aware of both the liturgical practice and the psalm commentary, or was inspired by one of these sources in order to apply the same visual interpretation to both verses (because of their similar vocabulary). Alternatively, he could have been aware of the use of the word “σημεῖον” as a reference to the Cross in other patristic texts, while ignoring the liturgical

and psalm-commentary references mentioned above.⁹⁰ In other words, a strict distinction between liturgical sources, psalm commentaries, and other patristic works is not always possible (or meaningful) in the examination of marginal psalter illustration, as all three sources seem to have played an important role. Moreover, the overriding interest in iconophile polemics was the catalyst in the final presentation of themes that might have originally been inspired by other sources. For example, in the case of Psalms 4:7 and 85:17, the circular image of Christ that appears hanging from the Cross is an element with obvious connections to iconophile arguments about the equal (or even superior) venerability of

90 For references to the exegetical tradition that interprets the words “ἐσημειώθη” and “σημεῖον” of Psalms 4:7 and 85:17 as references to the Cross, see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 72, n. 53.

holy icons compared with the sign of the Cross.⁹¹ The sophisticated interaction between liturgical influences and iconophile polemics in ninth-century marginal psalter illustration is further discussed in the second part of this paper. At present, more evidence will be given for the importance of the liturgy through the examination of two more Christological events.

Christ's Baptism

Christ's Baptism is depicted three times in both the Chludov and the Pantokrator Psalters, but the evidence of the Theodore and the Barberini Psalters suggests the existence of a fourth miniature illustrating Psalm 28:3, now missing from the ninth-century manuscripts (table 5).⁹² In the commentary sources available to me, all four psalms are related to Christ's Baptism. The wording of the text favors this exegesis, since it does not simply mention water, but can also be taken to refer to the voice of God proclaiming Jesus to be his son after his immersion in the Jordan (Matthew 3:17, Mark 1:11, Luke 3:22, Psalm 28:3); the defeat of the devil and his demons in the waters of Baptism (Psalm 73:13); or the supernatural character of Christ's Baptism, evident in the agitation of the waters (Psalms 76:17, 113:5). All four psalm verses are also used in the liturgical celebration of this Christological event (table 5).

In the commentary sources, six other psalm verses are considered as prophetic references to Christ's Baptism (table 6). None of them is employed in the celebration of the Epiphany according to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, and none is illustrated in the ninth-century marginal psalters, although in most cases the wording of the text could have motivated the depiction of Christ's Baptism (e.g., reference to agitated rivers, God proclaiming his Son, or anointing with oil—analogue to the anointing of Christ and the initiates by the Holy Spirit).⁹³ Other psalms used in the celebration

of the Epiphany have wording that is not germane to Christ's Baptism (e.g., general references to the glory of God, to the protection he offers to his people, or to the forgiveness of sins—themes that could be related to other Christological episodes as well, for example the Crucifixion or the Resurrection).⁹⁴ I will examine one case in more detail to illustrate more vividly the importance of liturgical affiliations.

Psalm 113

According to the catenae of codices Paris. gr. 146 and Marc. gr. 17, verses 4 and 7 of Psalm 113 (table 4, no. 16) are related to the earthquake that followed Christ's Crucifixion: "The mountains skipped like rams, the hills like lambs . . . the earth trembled at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob." Consequently, verses 3, 5, and 8, which refer to water (the sea and the Jordan River) and the flowing of water from a rock (allusion to Exodus 17:1–7), were interpreted in the same sources as references to the water and blood that had flowed from Christ's side on the Cross and to the baptismal and eucharistic significance of the event. In cod. Marc. gr. 17 Z, verse 3 is directly related to Christ's Baptism as well, and the wording of this passage fully justifies this interpretation (more than a connection with the Crucifixion; see table 5, no. 4): "The sea looked and fled, Jordan turned back." In other words, the natural element of water in which Christ was immersed during his Baptism was agitated by the supernatural contact. The psalm commentaries published in *Patrologia graeca* preserve only one interpretation in relation to all these verses: the reference to the blood and water flowing from Christ's side during his Crucifixion in relation to verse 8. No reference to the Baptism is made for verses 3, 5, and 8. The allusion in the above psalm passages both to earthquakes and the agitation of the Jordan would justify the depiction of both Christ's Crucifixion and Baptism. Indeed, in patristic literature both interpretations are discussed in relation to the miracle of the water-flowing rock by Moses at Horeb mentioned in Psalm

91 Ibid., 73.

92 Psalm 76:17 was illustrated in the Pantokrator Psalter with a scene that alludes to the Baptism, although it does not represent it: Christ is shown walking toward the personification of the Jordan and another river (Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 5 above], 28, pl. 13). The folio was cut from the psalter together with three others that are now kept in the Public Library of St. Petersburg as cod. 265—the relevant folio is 3v.

93 According to the *Typikon of the Savior*, one of these psalms is

related to the celebrations of Christ's Baptism on 5–7 January (table 6, number 5).

94 Psalms 140, 66:2–3, 4–5, and 6–8; 92:1–2; 79:4, 1, 26, and 27; 44:2–3a, 3bc, and 4–5a; 148:1; 31:1, 114, and 117 (Mateos, *Grande Église* [n. 26 above], 1:176–86).

TABLE 6. Psalms that were interpreted as prophetic of Christ’s Baptism in Byzantine psalm commentaries, but were not illustrated accordingly in the ninth- and eleventh-century marginal psalters

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use celebrating Christ’s Baptism		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
1	2:7	... You are my son. ...	Asterios, 133.5–6 (cf. Matt. 3:17, Mk. 1:11, Lk. 3:22)	–	–	~	~	~
2	44:8	... Therefore God ... has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your fellows	Cyril, 1040B (Christ anointed by the Holy Spirit during his Baptism)	–	–	~	~	~
3	65:6	... They shall pass through the river (Jordan) on foot	Origen, 1500A–B; Eusebios, 653B; Asterios, 133.1–2	198v	–	~	~	~
4	71:8	And he shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth	Eusebios, 804C–D	230r	129v	~	~	~
5	92:3–4	The rivers have lifted up their voices ... the billows of the sea are wonderful. ...	Eusebios, 1192C	–	167r	~	•	Ps. 92:1–5 was sung with the troparion on 5 Jan.; Ps. 92 was the antiphon on vespers of 6 Jan., and the fixed psalm on 5 Jan., TSM 97, 103, 330.
6	97:8	The rivers shall clap their hands together	Hesychios, 1263B–C	–	–	~	~	~

113:8 (see table 5, literature in note c). However, liturgical affiliations exist only for the Baptism. According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, Psalm 113 was the third antiphonal psalm on 6 January, while verses 1, 3, 5–6, and 11 were sung at vespers on the same occasion. Similar liturgical affiliations are recorded in the *Typikon of the Savior* (table 5, number 4). On the contrary, the verses interpreted as prophecies of the Crucifixion were not used in the liturgy of the Holy Week. It comes as no surprise that in all three ninth-century marginal psalters

it is Christ’s Baptism, and not his Crucifixion, that illustrates Psalm 113.

Christ’s Ascension

The Ascension is depicted four times in the Chludov Psalter, and all four psalms are interpreted as prophetic references to the Ascension in the commentary sources available to me. The wording is fitting

TABLE 7. Psalms illustrated with Christ’s Ascension in the ninth- and eleventh-century Byzantine marginal psalters

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalter					
			Chludov	Pantokrator	Paris	Theodore (London)	Barberini	Bristol
1	17:11	He mounted on cherubs and flew, he flew on the wings of winds	14r	X	X	16v	27v	27v
2	23:7–10	Lift up your gates, you princes; be lifted up, you eternal gates, so that the King of glory may come in. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty. . .	22r	X	X	25v	41r	–
3	46:6	God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the voice of a trumpet	46v	–	X	58v	81r	77r
4	56:6	Be exalted above the heavens, O God; and your glory above all earth	55v	–	X	71r	95v	–
5 ^c	107:6	Identical to Psalm 56:6	–	–	X	149r	189v	–

^a Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration*, 63.
^b Tsuji, “Destruction,” 9; Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration*, 63.
^c Illustration that did not exist in 9th-c. psalters, but that was added to 11th-c. ones.

for such an exegesis, since the verses mention flying on cherubim and winds, the opening of everlasting gates for the entrance of the king of glory, and God’s ascent and his exaltation above the heavens. All four verses are also used in the relevant liturgical celebration (table 7).⁹⁵

The same commentary sources consider verses of eleven other psalms to be prophetic references to

the Ascension (table 8); in eight of these, the wording could easily have inspired an illustration, since it mentions ascent or dwelling in high places or in the heavens (table 8, numbers 1–4, 7–10). However, none of these verses was used in the liturgical celebration of the Ascension, and predictably none of them is illustrated with an Ascension miniature in the ninth-century marginal psalters. The antiphonal psalms that, according to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, are sung in the celebration of the Ascension in addition to Psalm 46 do not have wording that

95 Table 7, no. 5 concerns a miniature that appears only in the eleventh-century marginal psalters.

Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use for the feast of the Ascension		
			Cath. rite	Monast. rite	Description and sources
Eusebios, 172A–B; Athanasios, 112A	37v	48r	○		Used in a canon on the Ascension by Joseph the Hymnographer (Constantinople, 9th c., unspecified rite). ^a
Origen, 1269A; Eusebios, 224A; Athanasios, 141C; Pseudo-Athanasios, 733B; Theodoret, 1033B	51v	58r	○		Extensively used in various hymns for the feast of the Ascension (unspecified rite). ^b
Athanasios, 217C; Pseudo-Athanasios, 833D; Cyril, 1053B–C; Theodoret, 1208D	123v	92v	•	•	Ps. 46 was the third antiphon; Ps. 46:6 was used at the matins and the Divine Liturgy of the feast, TGC 2:128, 184; Ps. 46:6 was the prokeimenon and the verse at the alleluia and koinonikon; Ps. 46 was the antiphon of the feast, TSM 271–73.
Eusebios, 512A; Athanasios, 260C; Pseudo-Athanasios, 876C	164r	107r	•	•	Ps. 56:6 is identical to 107:6, which was used as the prokeimenon at the Divine Liturgy of the feast, TGC 2:128; Ps 56 was the antiphon during matins of the feast, TSM 329.
Hesychios, 1312A–B	338v	192r	•	~	See no. 4. Not mentioned in TSM.

can be directly related to this Christological event (and are not interpreted accordingly in the psalm commentaries);⁹⁶ consequently, they are not illustrated in the ninth-century psalters. One specific example will be used to illustrate more clearly the importance of liturgical affiliations.

96 Psalms 85, 140, 41, and 45 (Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:126–28). The antiphonal psalms recorded in the *Typikon of the Savior* (in addition to 46) are 44 and 45 (Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 328).

Psalm 8

In the psalm commentaries and the catenae manuscripts available to me, Psalm 8:2 (table 8, no. 2) is interpreted as referring to Christ’s Ascension: “O Lord, our Lord, how majestic is your name in all the earth! For your magnificence has been exalted above the heavens.” In the same sources, as well as in Matthew 21:16, verse 3 is related to Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem: “From the lips of children and infants I will ordain

TABLE 8. Psalms that were interpreted as prophetic of Christ’s Ascension in Byzantine psalm commentaries, but were not illustrated accordingly in the ninth- and eleventh-century marginal psalters

No.	Psalm	Relevant vocabulary	Psalm commentators	Marc. gr. 17	Paris. gr. 146	Liturgical use celebrating Christ's Ascension		
						Cath. rite	Monas. rite	Description and sources
1	7:8	The congregation of nations shall encircle you, and for this cause you return on high	Athanasios, 80B; Pseudo-Athanasios, 669D; Cyril, 752A	15v	34r	~	~	~
2	8:2	... For your magnificence has been exalted above the heavens	Eusebios, 128B; Asterios, 121.29; Didymos, 1.147.48; Cyril, 757C	19r	–	~	~	~
3	18:7	His starting point is from the extremity of heaven, and his goal at the other end of heaven	Didymos, 1.211–12.155	42v	–	~	~	~
4	67:19	You are gone up on high	Pseudo-Athanasios, 916C	207v	122r	~	~	~
	67:34	Sing to God who rides on the heaven of heaven towards the east	Eusebios, 720A; Athanasios, 303C–D; Theodoret, 1397B	211v	123r			
5	68:30	–	Didymos, 2.84.722a	–	–	~	~	~
6	84:9	–	Theodoret, 1549B	–	–	~	~	~
7	88:28	I shall make him a first-born, higher than kings of the earth	–	–	160r	~	~	~
8	90:11–12	He shall give his angels charge concerning you. . . . They shall bear you upon their hands. . . .	–	–	165r	~	~	~
9	103:3	... He who makes the clouds his chariot, he who walks on the wings of the wind	Hesychios, 1284B	317v	179r	~	~	~
10	112:5–6	Who is like Lord our God, who dwells on high and looks upon the lowly things in heaven, and on the earth?	Eusebios, 1349C–D	–	–	~	~	~
11	131:8	–	–	–	223v	~	~	~

praise because of your enemies, to silence the foe and the avenger.”⁹⁷ In other words, both verses are interpreted Christologically in the commentaries, and both include vocabulary reminiscent of their respective events—the Ascension and the Entry into Jerusalem. However, only one of them has liturgical affiliations: according to the *Typikon of the Great Church* and the *Typikon of the Savior*, Psalm 8:3 was used as the koinonikon in the Liturgy of Palm Sunday, probably inspired by the reference to this psalm verse in the relevant Gospel narrative.⁹⁸ Not surprisingly, it is the Entry into Jerusalem and not the Ascension that was illustrated in the eleventh-century Bristol, Theodore, and Barberini Psalters.⁹⁹ The same scene was probably included in the ninth-century psalters, but unfortunately the relevant folios are now damaged.¹⁰⁰



The evidence presented thus far suggests that the liturgical employment of psalm verses during major feasts of the Orthodox Church and their appropriate vocabulary were basic criteria for the selection of verses for illustration among the many interpreted Christologically in psalm commentaries. There are also a few cases of Christological miniatures that seem to depend exclusively on liturgical inspiration rather than on psalm commentaries.¹⁰¹ At the same time, certain Christological episodes, such as miracles or teaching scenes, seem to have no liturgical affiliations but were inspired by the Gospels, psalm commentaries, or other patristic texts.¹⁰² The conclusion reached

by this investigation is that the use of the psalter in Byzantine liturgy was a basic guideline for the illustration of the codices in question, especially where major Christological episodes were concerned.

There may have been a practical reason for this. The planners of the manuscript, most likely high-ranking clergymen, were certainly familiar with the rite of the Byzantine Church and were no doubt regular participants. Their consequent knowledge of the liturgical use of the psalter offered them an easily accessible source of inspiration for the Christological interpretation of this Old Testament book. Moreover, the appropriateness of vocabulary in the psalm verses illustrated with major Christological events might also have had a practical purpose: it could have been a mnemonic aid, a factor that made the Christological interpretation of these psalm verses more memorable than that of others with less relevant vocabulary. But there may also have been ideological criteria for the importance of liturgical affiliations and appropriate wording. By drawing attention to those psalm verses that were used in the liturgical celebration of major Christological events, the illustration declares the validity of its interpretation on the basis of liturgical authority. As sources of Christological exegesis, psalm commentaries were not as venerable, homogenous, or indisputable as the liturgical employment of the psalms. Although respected, the commentators did not always agree on their interpretations, and their work could be refuted or even forged by heretics.¹⁰³ This was not the case with liturgical practice, the applied theology and living tradition of the Church, the sanctity of which was unquestionable. The illustration of psalm verses that appear to be indisputably valid Christological prophecies (by their vocabulary and liturgical affiliations) places particular emphasis on a basic iconophile claim well known to modern scholarship: since Christ's

97 Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:128B; Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:757C. In both cases reference is made to Matthew 21:9, 16.

98 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:66. Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur* (n. 27 above), 229. At *ibid.*, 227–28, Ps. 8:3.2 is a prokeimenon and accompanies the troparia of the same feast.

99 Theodore Psalter, fol. 6r (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 7 above], 19, fig. 12). Barberini Psalter, fol. 14r (Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter* [n. 7 above], 61). Bristol Psalter, fol. 15v (Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* [see n. 5 above], 54, pl. 48).

100 The relevant folio is lacking from the Paris marginal Psalter, and is extant but mutilated in the Chludov and Pantokrator Psalters (fols. 7 and 21 respectively). Cf. Anderson, “Prolegomena” (n. 5 above), 308.

101 See table 1, numbers 2, 10; table 3, number 1; also Walter, “Christological Themes,” 278–79, nos. 63–65 for more examples.

102 See *ibid.*, 272 no. 6 (cf. Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*,

PG 23:740–41), 273 nos. 9 (cf. Pseudo-Chrysostom, *In psalmos*, PG 55:761), 20, 25; 274 nos. 29, 34, 39, 42, 43, 45, 47; 275 no. 50; 280 no. 73 (cf. Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:312C). The broad scope of sources employed in the selection of subject matter and even certain iconographic details in the ninth-century marginal psalters—a clear sign of the sophisticated cultural environment in which these manuscripts were produced—is a subject that I hope to treat more extensively in a future monograph based on my Ph.D. dissertation (see n. 9, above).

103 For the problem of textual interpretation during the iconoclast crisis and its connection to ninth-century marginal psalter illustration (with no reference to liturgical sources), see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* (n. 3 above), 113–20.

Incarnation was foretold in the Old Testament, fulfilled in the New Testament, and regularly celebrated in the liturgy, it should also be made visible in images.¹⁰⁴

This argument is openly emphasized in a few miniatures with eucharistic subject matter.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, some compositions in the Chludov Psalter seem to base their polemical message not only on iconophile but also on liturgical inspiration, as shown in the second part of this paper. It appears, therefore, that the liturgical influence on the illustration of the ninth-century marginal psalters can also be considered polemically pro-Orthodox and specifically iconophile, both in its extensive and systematic influence and in its conceptual function. This accords with the view that the Byzantine liturgy was militant in its defense of Orthodoxy (although in a panegyric rather than a contesting manner), by gradually incorporating the dogmatic beliefs and concerns of the Church until they were everyday experiences of the congregation through the words, images, objects, movements, and the entire mystagogy of the rite.¹⁰⁶ The illustration of the ninth-century marginal

psalters is another expression of this theology, also built on many layers of meaning. Some examples of the multiplicity of references, with special attention to the liturgical factor, are examined below.

Case studies

In this part of the investigation, my analysis focuses on the subject matter and iconography of a few marginal-psalter miniatures, and aims to highlight their liturgical references in connection to the pro-Orthodox or specifically iconophile message of the illustration. The general intention is to demonstrate not only the extent but also the sophistication of liturgical influence on the illustration of these psalters, and to give further proof of the complex interaction between the various sources of the illustration and its overriding iconophile agenda.

I first mention two cases which prove that even when certain miniatures appear programmatically designed to promote an iconophile message seemingly unrelated to the liturgical employment of the psalter, the inspiration which led to the choice of their subject matter might have been liturgical after all.

The Illustration of Psalm 98 in the Chludov Psalter

The miniatures illustrating Psalm 98 on folio 98v of the Chludov Psalter (fig. 1) are insightfully discussed by Corrigan. The Cross set on the hill of Golgotha corresponds to verse 5: "Exalt the Lord our God and worship at the footstool of his feet, for he is holy." Corrigan mentions that in psalm commentaries and patristic literature the "footstool" was considered a reference to the Cross, and therefore exegesis is the inspiration for this illustration. Below this image verse 6, "Moses and Aaron among his priests and Samuel among them that call upon his name," is illustrated with the three biblical figures identified by inscriptions. According to Corrigan, Moses and Aaron (the latter holding a censer and dressed like an Old Testament priest) turn in veneration toward the scrolls in Samuel's hands that represent the holy scriptures of the Jews. She suggests that the juxtaposition between the Cross and the three biblical figures venerating the scrolls illustrates an argument in support of the veneration of the Cross and the icons that was often cited in iconophile sources: as the Jews

104 K. Parry, *Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*, The Medieval Mediterranean 12 (Leiden, 1996), 125–32; A. Giakalis, *Images of the Divine: The Theology of Icons at the Seventh Ecumenical Council*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 54 (Leiden, 1994), 78–81, 103–6; L. Brubaker, "Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century: Theory, Practice, and Culture," *BMGS* 13 (1989): 40–42; J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Théophanies: Visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l'art byzantin après la restauration des images," *Synthronon: Art et Archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1968), 135–48. See also Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 49–89, with reference to previous literature. Specifically on the Eucharist, which the iconoclasts perceived as an image of Christ and the iconophiles as Christ himself, see S. Gero, "The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Byzantine Iconoclasts and its Sources," *BZ* 68 (1975): 4–22.

105 Such as the Communion of the Apostles illustrating Psalms 33:9 and 109:4 (or David and Melchisedek flanking a circular icon of Christ instead of the Communion), discussed by Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 55–59.

106 For the issue of liturgy as theology see, for example, R. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Rome, 1997), 233–38. See also Kartsonis, *Anastasis* (n. 78 above), 227, for a reference to the canons of the Council in Trullo (691–692 AD) that emphasized the yearly and weekly liturgical commemoration of the Resurrection in response to various heretical beliefs; and Meyendorff, *St. Germanos of Constantinople* (n. 81 above), 42 ff., esp. 48–52, on interpreting the emphasis on Christ's Incarnation in the commentary on the Eucharist by Patriarch Germanos as response to heresy and iconoclasm in particular.



FIG. 1 Moscow, State Historical Museum. Cod. 129, Chludov Psalter, folio 98v, Psalm 98:5–6. The Cross; Moses, Aaron, and Samuel. Courtesy of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

honor the word of God contained in their holy scriptures and not the ink and parchment with which they are written, similarly the Christians honor Christ and the saints through the veneration of the Cross and the icons without worshipping the wood or the pigments.¹⁰⁷

This explanation illuminates the meaning of iconographic details in the service of iconophile polemics, but it overlooks the liturgical affiliations on which the choice of subject matter was probably based. Cutler discusses the use of verses 5 and 9 of Psalm 98 in the celebration of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September in the monastic and the cathedral rites respectively, and makes some observations regarding the influence of one or the other rite, or even of both rites, on this psalm's illustration in the Byzantine marginal psalters.¹⁰⁸ According to my proposal, the liturgical basis for the representation of the Cross in relation to Psalm 98 would have enhanced the authoritative value of this visual comment, and would have reinforced any iconophile message that the entire composition was intended to promote. But there is more to be said regarding liturgical influence.

As already mentioned, the ninth-century liturgical notations of the Pantokrator Psalter reflect only the cathedral rite, while those of the Chludov and Paris marginal Psalters demonstrate interest in and familiarity with both the monastic and the cathedral rites. In accordance with its liturgical notations, the Pantokrator Psalter includes a miniature of the church of Golgotha in connection to verse 9, which was a prokeimenon for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross according to the *Typikon of the Great Church*.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the most characteristic example of the combined influence of both rites is offered by the illustration of Psalm 98 in the Paris marginal Psalter, where both verses 5 and 9 are illuminated by images of the Cross at Golgotha (in the second case, the cross also

carries a circular image of Christ).¹¹⁰ In the Chludov Psalter, only verse 5 (used in the monastic rite for the Exaltation of the Cross) is illustrated with a cross; however, the cathedral rite recorded in the *Typikon of the Great Church* offers us two further clues for possible liturgical influence on the illustration of Psalm 98 in the Chludov Psalter. According to this typikon, the fourth troparion chanted on 14 September seems to refer precisely to Psalm 98:5 ("Exalt the Lord our God and worship at his footstool"). By declaring that "Today the prophetic words have been fulfilled, for behold we bow in proskynesis at the place where your feet stood, Lord," the troparion seems to allude to the prophecy of David in Psalm 98:5 that mentions the "footstool" of the Lord or the place where his "feet stood."¹¹¹ Another source of inspiration for the illustration of both verses 5 and 6 of Psalm 98 in the Chludov Psalter could have been a troparion chanted on the first Sunday of Lent, which was dedicated to the memory of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel, when Psalm 98:6 was used as a stichos at the alleluia. This troparion announces, "The assembly of the prophets, together with Moses and Aaron, rejoices greatly today because the Cross, through which you have saved us, shines and brings their prophecies to their fulfillment."¹¹² The combined reference to the prophets and to the Cross on the day dedicated to the three biblical figures mentioned in Psalm 98:6 may have inspired their combined representation on folio 98v of the Chludov Psalter.

The emphasis of these two troparia on the fulfillment of prophecies through the Cross (i.e., Christ's Passion) might help us comprehend yet another aspect of this Chludov illustration. The prophets venerating the holy scriptures held by Samuel can be taken to honor and therefore sanctify their own prophecies about the Incarnation contained in the scrolls; the fulfillment of these prophecies is visualized above them by the Cross, which illustrates the Old Testament text of the psalms. In other words, the prophets validate the Christian

107 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 41–42.

108 Ibid., 41, note 72, mentions Cutler's reference to the use of Psalm 98 in the feast for the Exaltation of the Cross, but in her main text she mentions only patristic sources and iconophile polemics as the basis for the creation of this psalm's illustration in the Chludov Psalter. See Cutler, "Liturgical Strata" (n. 18 above), 22–23. For the liturgical references see table 3, nos. 8 and 9 (Mateos, *Grande Église* [n. 26 above], 1:32; Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur* [n. 27 above], 25).

109 Fol. 140r (Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 5 above], 33, pl. 21); Cutler, "Liturgical Strata," 22, fig. 9.

110 Fols. 6v, 7r (Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 43, pl. 36).

111 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 1:28: "Σήμερον τὸ προφητικὸν πεπλήρωται λόγιον. ἰδοὺ γὰρ προσκυνούμεν εἰς τὸν τόπον οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες σου, Κύριε." Cf. Ps. 98:5: "Υψοῦτε Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν καὶ προσκυνεῖτε τῷ ὑποποδίῳ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἅγιος ἐστὶ."

112 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:20: "Καὶ ὁ χορὸς τῶν προφητῶν, μετὰ Μωσέως καὶ Ααρών, εὐφροσύνη εὐφραίνεται σήμερον, ὅτι πέρας ταῖς προφητείαις ἐπαγαγόν, λάμπει ὁ Σταυρὸς ἐν ᾧ ἡμᾶς ἔσωσας."

exegesis of the Old Testament that is prominently visualized throughout the Chludov Psalter with numerous Christological scenes. The illustration of Psalm 98 then justifies the whole cycle of miniatures in the Chludov Psalter with images that specifically emphasize the truth of the Incarnation, and therefore the iconophile argument that the events foreseen by the prophets through their minds' eye and physically experienced by eyewitnesses at the time of the Incarnation must also be visible to all Christians through the holy icons. The fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies and the resulting validation of the Christian faith is a basic theme in Byzantine liturgy,¹¹³ as well as in pro-Orthodox and specifically iconophile expositions.¹¹⁴ This makes the liturgical influence on the Chludov Psalter (and the other marginal psalters) even more meaningful.

The Illustration of Psalm 2 in the Chludov Psalter

All the Byzantine marginal psalters that still preserve Psalm 2:7 include a representation of Christ's Nativity: "Proclaiming the decree of the Lord: the Lord said to me, 'You are my son, today I gave birth to you.'"¹¹⁵ This verse was interpreted, following the lead of Acts 13:33 and Hebrews 1:5 and 5:5, as prophetic of Christ's Incarnation both in the psalm commentaries¹¹⁶ and in the liturgical use of the verse, since it was employed in the celebration of 24 December (according to both the *Typikon of the Great Church* and the *Typikon of the Savior*).¹¹⁷ The vocabulary of this psalm

passage perfectly fits this exegesis. What is of particular concern here is the illustration of verses 1–2: "Why did the nations conspire and the peoples plot in vain? The kings of the earth took their stand and the rulers gathered together against the Lord and against his Anointed One (his Christ)." Most marginal psalters that still preserve this part of the text include a miniature relevant to Christ's interrogation by the high priests and Pilate.¹¹⁸ These miniatures reflect not only psalm commentaries,¹¹⁹ but also the liturgical use of these verses as prokeimena on Maundy Thursday according to both the *Typikon of the Great Church* and the *Typikon of the Savior*.¹²⁰ Once more, the wording of the psalm is fully compatible with such an exegesis. However, on folio 2v the Chludov Psalter preserves a totally different scene: Isaiah reproaching the Jews for not recognizing their Lord as described in Isaiah 1:4, which is inscribed above the image (fig. 2). As Corrigan notes, the reader of the Chludov Psalter would have recalled that in Isaiah 1:3 the prophet says, "The ox knows his owner and the ass his master's crib, but Israel does not know me," and would have related this with the ox and ass that appear adoring Christ in the scene of his Nativity represented directly beneath the image of Isaiah. In other words, following the patristic exegesis of Isaiah 1, the illustration of the Chludov Psalter combines two miniatures to criticize the Jews for not recognizing Christ as the Messiah, when even animals were able to see the truth of God's Incarnation in Jesus.¹²¹ I believe that in the eyes of ninth-century iconophiles this composition would have had obvious anti-iconoclast connotations. Emphasis on the reality of the Incarnation had special

113 Many of the numerous Old Testament excerpts incorporated in the celebration of various Christological feasts were used exactly because they were considered prophetic of the New Testament events. See, for example, the cases recorded in Tables 1, 3, 5, and 7.

114 See n. 104 above.

115 Chludov Psalter, fol. 2v. Bristol Psalter, fol. 9v (Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 54, pl. 47). Theodore Psalter, fol. 2r (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 7 above], 18, fig. 3). Barberini Psalter, fol. 7v (Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter* [n. 7 above], 57–58).

116 Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:88A–B; Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:68A; Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:721A; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:880B.

117 Psalm 2 was one of the three antiphonal psalms on 24 December, and specific verses, including verse 7, were prokeimena on the same day (cathedral and monastic rite); verses 7b and 8 accompanied the troparia on the same day (monastic rite). See Mateos, *Grande Église*, 1:152; Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur* (n. 27 above), 78, 81.

118 Theodore Psalter, fol. 2r: two officials, probably Herod and Pilate, converse with a Jew who points down, toward Annas and Caiaphas confronting Christ (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 17–18, fig. 3). Barberini Psalter, fol. 7r: the rulers of the earth without Christ (Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter*, 57). Bristol Psalter, fol. 9r: the rulers of the earth without Christ (Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 53, pl. 47).

119 Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:80D–81C; Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:64C–D; Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:720C; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:873C–876C.

120 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:74; Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 235. In this typikon, Ps. 2:1.2 is also sung with the troparion on the first hour of Good Friday, and the entire psalm is the antiphon during matins on the same day (*ibid.*, 238, 236).

121 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* (n. 3 above), 45–46.



FIG. 2 Moscow, State Historical Museum. Cod. 129, Chludov Psalter, folio 2v, Psalm 2:1–2 and 2:7. Isaiah reproaches the Jews; Christ's Nativity. Courtesy of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

significance for the iconophiles, who justified the representability of Christ on the basis of his human nature.¹²² They accused the iconoclasts of being similar to Jews, because by denying Christ's representability they also denied his Incarnation, exactly like the Jews, who opposed both icon veneration and the Incarnation of the Messiah in Christ.¹²³ In iconophile literature, the iconoclasts are also said to be worse than animals, for unlike them they are not able to obey their Lord's will and recognize his truths. This comparison might be echoed here in the juxtaposition

of the impious Jews (alluding to the Jew-like iconoclasts) and the obedient animals.¹²⁴

Corrigan correctly observes that the two images on folio 2v of the Chludov Psalter "work together to make a statement very different from that made by the Nativity scene alone," but her assertion that this statement "is not dependent on the liturgy or on psalm exegesis" is not entirely true: the liturgy might in fact have been the source of inspiration for the illustration of Psalm 2:1–2 with Isaiah reproaching the Jews.¹²⁵ According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, Isaiah 1:1–20 is the lection between the first and the second prokeimenon, consisting of verses from the beginning of Psalms 1 and 2 respectively, on the first Monday of Lent.¹²⁶ The connection of Psalm 2:1–2 with Isaiah 1:4 is therefore made in the ritual of Hagia Sophia, and should be considered as one of several factors leading to the choice of the imagery discussed here and guiding the response of its viewers. Liturgical practice sanctioned the exegetical connection of Isaiah 1 and Psalm 2:1–2; but the choice to use the reference to Isaiah 1:4 juxtaposed with the Nativity for Psalm 2:7 was also influenced by other sources (e.g., patristic commentaries) and was ultimately motivated by the polemical agenda the Chludov Psalter was designed to serve, as Corrigan rightly stresses.

I turn now to the discussion of a few miniatures of the Chludov Psalter in which liturgical influence has had a much more sophisticated and far-reaching effect not only on the subject matter but also on the iconography of the scenes and the possible viewer responses to them.

122 For a discussion of this basic iconophile argument see, for example, Parry, *Depicting the Word*, 70–80; Giakalis, *Images of the Divine*, 101–3; Brubaker, "Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century," 33–39 (all n. 104 above).

123 References to this parallelism between iconoclasts and Jews (and the relevant argumentation) can be found, for example, in: the acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, in *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. G. D. Mansi (from now on referred to as Mansi), 53 volumes (Paris–Leipzig, 1901–27), 13:173C, 196D–E, 273C–D, 276A–B; Patriarch Nikephoros, *Apologeticus pro sacris imaginibus*, PG 100:616A, 752C, 761C, 780C, *Nicephori patriarchae constantinopolitani refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, ed. J. M. Featherstone (Leuven, 1997), 6 (§3:1–7), 12 (§6:57, 61), 42 (§19:50–52), 55 (§25:63), 62 (§28:45–50), 71 (§31:80), 118 (§72:34), 128 (§76:13), 163 (§92:10–12), 256 (§159:53–54); Theodore the Stoudite, *Refutatio et subversio impiorum poematum*, PG 99:453A, 465A, 473B. For miniatures of the Chludov Psalter that make direct or indirect reference to the iconophiles' comparison between iconoclasts and Jews, see Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 29–33. Corrigan (61–63) relates the anti-Jewish references in the illustration of the ninth-century marginal psalters to iconophile claims that Jews inspired iconoclasm or to a general orthodox offensive against heretics (such as Muslims and Paulicians) who were seen to have connections with the Jews in their arguments and in their hostility toward Byzantine Orthodoxy. Next to this historical or pseudo-historical interpretation, I believe a more metaphorical reading should also be kept in mind: the condemned Jews as an allusion to the "Jewish-minded" (ἰουδαϊόφρονες) iconoclasts. The typological interpretation of biblical miniatures in the ninth-century marginal psalters as references to the contemporary conflict between iconophiles and iconoclasts is a major theme in my Ph.D. dissertation (n. 9, above). For some examples see M. Evangelatou, "Virtuous Soul, Healthy Body: The Holistic Concept of Health in Byzantine Representations of Christ's Healing Miracles," in *Holistic Healing in Byzantium*, ed. J. Chirban (Brookline, 2010), 173–241, and eadem, "Biblical Scenes as Metaphors of Contemporary Conflicts in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters," in the proceedings of the day study "Image and Text, the Theodore Psalter and Related Middle Byzantine Manuscripts," held 3 May 2003, Institute of Byzantine Studies, Queen's University, Belfast (forthcoming).

124 For example, in a passage from the Seventh Ecumenical Council iconoclasts are described as "more irrational than the irrational beings," because, contrary to animals that acknowledge their creator and follow his commandments, they are opposed to divine law: Mansi 13:212C–D. For other similar expressions see, for example, Patriarch Nikephoros, *Antirrhetici tres adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, PG 100:276B, 477A, *Apologeticus*, PG 100:721B–C, 740A–C, *Refutatio et eversio*, ed. Featherstone (n. 123 above), 58 (§26:17–18); Theodore the Stoudite, *Epistles*, in *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, ed. G. Fatouros (Berlin, 1992), 244 (epistle 126.6–7), 558 (epistle 402.6–10); George the Monk, *Chronikon*, in *Georgii monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904; corrected and re-edited by P. Wirth, Stuttgart, 1978), 780:17–18. The miniatures on fols. 23v–24r of the Chludov Psalter seem to refer to the same idea of iconoclasts as being wilder than animals. See the analysis in Evangelatou, "Byzantine Marginal Psalters" (n. 9 above), 51–53.

125 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 4.

126 Mateos, *Grande Église* (n. 26 above), 1:12.

*The Illustration of Psalms 64 and 65
in the Chludov Psalter*

Here I examine one of the most obvious instances of liturgical influence in a marginal-psalter miniature and attempt to disclose some of its less obvious layers of meaning. At the lateral margin of folio 62v of the Chludov Psalter, two deacons sound semantra to summon the faithful to the liturgy, while the lower margin is filled with a representation of Pentecost (fig. 3). Corrigan indicates that the depiction of the deacons is a rare example of a marginal psalter illustration in which liturgical practice is reflected in the choice of subject matter.¹²⁷ However, more extensive analysis indicates that liturgical influence had an even greater effect on this composition.

The two deacons are connected by means of a reference sign to Psalm 64:14: “The rams of the flock are clothed with wool, and the valleys shall abound in grain; they shall cry aloud, they shall sing hymns.” An arrowlike sign pointing toward the deacons is attached to the initial letter of this verse.¹²⁸ The deacons who summon the faithful are like rams in a flock, leaders of the congregation that praise God for the prosperity he sends to the plants and the animals of the earth throughout the whole year, as described in verses 12–14. The first of the two deacons appears right next to verse

127 Corrigan, *Visual Polemics*, 149, n. 13. The semantron (σήμαντρον) is a wooden board struck with a mallet to summon the faithful to church. It is still used in Orthodox monasteries today. In the *Ecclesiastical History* by Patriarch Germanos, it is specifically discussed as the call for the congregation to attend the Divine Liturgy. See below, p. 106.

128 The initial E of this verse is colored with the same blue with which the arrow attached to it was painted. The arrow and colored initial are original (dated to the 9th c. and not to the 12th–13th c., when the text of the psalms was rewritten), since the letter has the pointed shape of ninth-century uncial script, and not the rounded shape of the initials that were added in red (above the original ones in sepia) when the psalms were rewritten in minuscule script. Compare, for example, the other initial Es on this and the facing folio (62v–63r): the lower part of the original pointed E written in sepia is still visible below the later rounded red E. It seems that because the initial E of verse 14 was already colored in the 9th c. to act as a reference sign, it was not overwritten in red. For a detailed examination of original colored initials of the Chludov Psalter that were intended as reference signs and for arguments on their ninth-century dating, as well as other cases of original reference signs that relate specific psalm verses with the appropriate miniatures, see Evangelatou, “Byzantine Marginal Psalters” (n. 9 above), 246–56. See also Corrigan, *Visual Polemics* (n. 3 above), 143, for reference to a few original reference signs.

12: “You shall bless the crown of the year (or the annual cycle: τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ) because of your goodness; and your plains shall be filled with fatness.” The liturgical usage of this verse and of the entire psalm might offer the key to the source of inspiration and the intended message of this miniature.

According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, Psalm 64:12 was sung as the stichos at the alleluia of the Divine Liturgy on 1 September, the first day of the Byzantine calendar year, when God’s blessing for the next twelve months was invoked.¹²⁹ The entire Psalm 64 was sung as the third antiphon on the same occasion.¹³⁰ Between the singing of the entire psalm and verse 12 as the stichos, the lection was from Colossians 3:12–16, which begins and ends with phrases reminiscent of the vocabulary and content of Psalm 64:14.¹³¹ As the psalmist mentions the rams clothed with wool, so the apostle mentions the flock of Christ, which must be clothed with Christian virtues,¹³² and as the psalmist mentions the praising of the Lord by thriving nature, so the apostle mentions the praising of the Lord by his virtuous children.¹³³ The flourishing of nature and of human souls in prosperity and virtue is the subject of the liturgy on 1 September, when the congregation would invoke God’s blessing for material and spiritual well-being throughout the year. According to the cathedral rite, Psalm 64 played a major role in the liturgical celebration of that day, not only because it provided the third antiphon and its twelfth verse (“you shall bless the annual cycle” was the stichos at the alleluia), but also because this verse inspired the central part of the basic troparion of the day that was chanted three times: at matins, during the procession that followed it, and in the Divine Liturgy.¹³⁴ Psalm 64 was also very

129 Mateos, *Grande Église* (n. 26 above), 1:8.8.

130 Ibid., 8.1.

131 Ibid., 8.6.

132 Ps. 64:14: “ἐνεδύσαντο οἱ κριοὶ τῶν προβάτων.” Colossians 3:12: “ἐνδύσασθε οὖν ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγιοι καὶ ἡγαπημένοι.” The same verses are combined in the *Typikon of the Savior*, Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur* (n. 27 above), 14.

133 Ps. 64:14: “κεκράζονται, καὶ γὰρ ὑμνήσουσιν.” Colossians 3:16: “ψαλμοῖς, ὕμνοις, ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ θεῷ.”

134 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 1:4.13–18, 8.14, 8.26–10.1. The troparion contained the phrase “bless the annual cycle” (“εὐλόγησον τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ”), which was based on Ps. 64:12 (“εὐλόγησεις τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ”).



FIG. 3 Moscow, State Historical Museum. Cod. 129, Chludov Psalter, folio 62v, Psalms 64:12–14 and 65:1–4. Deacons sound semantra; Pentecost. Rectangles highlight the signs that relate the deacons to Ps. 65. Ovals highlight the signs that relate the apostles to the word “rams” of Ps. 64. From M. V. Ščepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi Psaltyri* (Moscow, 1977); courtesy of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

important in the celebration of the new calendar year in the monastic rite. According to the *Typikon of the Savior*, the same troparion that echoed Psalm 64:12 was sung on the vigil of 1 September, when the psalm verse itself was also used as a stichos.¹³⁵ On the feast day proper, the entire Psalm 64 was one of the antiphons, and verse 12 was used in the Divine Liturgy as a koinonikon and as a stichos at the alleluia.¹³⁶

In other words, Psalm 64 and especially verse 12 would have been easily recognized by the Byzantine viewers of the Chludov Psalter as an integral part of the liturgical celebration for the inauguration of the calendar year. Consequently, the two deacons sounding semantira next to verses 12–14 of this psalm suggest the inauguration not only of one service but of the whole calendar year. The summoning deacons are the rams who lead the flock of the congregation to celebrate the new year and praise God, while asking for abundance and prosperity. In fact, the two deacons inaugurate not only the calendar year but also the liturgical year, which according to the Lectionary of the Byzantine Church started on Easter Sunday. The undulating reference sign inserted above each deacon reappears above the beginning of Psalm 65, “Shout unto God, all the earth. Sing praises to his name; give glory to his praise.”¹³⁷ According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, Psalm 65 was the first antiphon on Easter Sunday and the whole following week.¹³⁸ So the two deacons invite the congregation to gather and celebrate the greatest feast of the Church, which marks the beginning of the liturgical year and proclaims the salvation of the world, and at the same time they announce the beginning of the calendar year and invite God to bless the annual cycle.

Another inaugural moment is depicted at the lower margin of the folio: the initiation of the ecumenical

Church on the day of Pentecost.¹³⁹ Later I analyze the common thread that connects the deacons who summon the congregation for the inauguration of the calendar and liturgical cycles, and the apostles who are inspired to summon the nations for the inauguration of the ecumenical Church. Here, I discuss the liturgical affiliations of the Pentecost miniature. The scene appears directly beneath the fourth verse of Psalm 65: “Let all the earth worship you, and sing to you; let them sing to your name.” Various psalm commentators, like Eusebios, Athanasios, and Cyril, relate the whole of Psalm 65 to the calling of the nations by Christ, an event that was emphatically proclaimed during Pentecost.¹⁴⁰ However, the exegetical interpretation alone can hardly give a full explanation for the illustration of this psalm with Pentecost, since other psalms were also thought by the commentators to prophesy the calling of the nations, but were not illustrated by a Pentecost miniature.¹⁴¹ According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, Psalm 65:1–4 was sung at the vespers of Holy Saturday.¹⁴² In addition, as already noted, Psalm 65 was the first antiphon for the Sunday of Easter and for the whole week following it. This liturgical usage is in line with the commentaries by Didymos and Cyril, who saw in verses 1 and 3 respectively references to Christ’s Resurrection.¹⁴³ One might expect that the coincidence of the liturgical and patristic interpretations of the psalm would have triggered an illustration with a scene of the Resurrection, especially since the title in the Chludov Psalter identifies Psalm 65 as a psalm “of the resurrection.”¹⁴⁴ However, the wording of Psalm 65:1–4 itself does not make any obvious reference to the

135 Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 13:3–6, 12:19.

136 Ibid., 13:11, 14:9, 11.

137 Likewise, on fol. 106v of the Barberini Psalter, the two deacons are related to both Psalms 64:14 and 65:1 (Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter* [n. 7 above], 94). On the contrary, on fol. 80v of the Theodore Psalter the two deacons are related only to Psalm 65:1 (Der Nersessian, *L’illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 7 above], 36, fig. 129).

138 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:220. Ps. 65 is also the first antiphon of Easter Sunday according to the *Typikon of the Savior*, Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 249.

139 The event described in Acts 2 was considered the beginning of the diffusion of Christ’s teaching to the world through the grace of the Holy Ghost. See C. Walter, *L’iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine*, Archives de l’orient chrétien 13 (Paris, 1970), 199; A. Mantas, *Τὸ εἰκονογραφικὸ πρόγραμμα τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος τῶν Μεσοβυζαντινῶν ναῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος (843–1204)* (Athens, 2001), 202–10, esp. 204, 208, 210.

140 Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:648A; Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:288A; Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:1132D.

141 For example, according to Eusebios, the following psalms foretell the calling of nations by Christ: 2, 8, 21, 22, 23, 46, 56, 58, 64, 66, 67, 71, 80, 85, 95, 97, 99, 101, 106, 107, 112, 116, and 127; *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:68A–72B.

142 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:84. The same use is recorded in the *Typikon of the Savior*, Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 249.

143 See table 2, number 30.

144 “Εἰς τὸ τέλος ᾠδὴ ψαλμοῦ ἀναστάσεως.”

Resurrection of Christ, but instead mentions the praises that the whole earth addresses to God, a situation more reminiscent of the conversion of the world to Christianity and the inauguration of the Church initiated on the day of Pentecost. Indeed, according to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, Pentecost was commemorated in the first four days after Easter, when Psalm 65 was the first antiphon. The lections for these days were excerpts from Acts 2 referring to the events of Pentecost.¹⁴⁵ On the first Monday after Easter, which was dedicated to the apostles, verses 5, 2, and 3 of Psalm 18 were chanted during the Divine Liturgy.¹⁴⁶ This psalm was also chanted on all the major feasts related to Christ's disciples, including Pentecost.¹⁴⁷ Indicative of this use is the illustration of Psalm 18 in the Chludov Psalter with a representation of the Apostles teaching the nations.¹⁴⁸ Since Pentecost was of central importance during the celebrations of the first four days after Easter, when Psalm 65 was the first antiphon, it can be suggested that the liturgical context and the appropriate wording of this psalm led to its illustration with Pentecost.

However, this Pentecost miniature has a peculiar iconographic feature which also relates it to the ecumenical councils: the throne of the *Hetoimasia* with the Gospel and the Holy Ghost is placed not above the apostles, as was the norm (cf. fig. 4), but between them, exactly like the throne holding the Gospel in representations of the ecumenical councils. These councils were intentionally connected with Pentecost in Byzantine tradition, in order to proclaim that the Church Fathers were following the apostolic tradition and acting under divine guidance. This relationship between Pentecost and the

ecumenical councils is implicit in all claims that the decisions of the latter were reached under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.¹⁴⁹ In the acts of the First Ecumenical Council, which set the example for all the subsequent councils, this relationship was explicitly stated through a direct reference to the events described in Acts 2.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, the inauguration of the Third Ecumenical Council took place on the Sunday of Pentecost, obviously to allude to the spiritual connection between the biblical and the contemporary event.¹⁵¹ Also significant is the fact that, according to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, the commemoration of the fathers who participated in the first six ecumenical councils was celebrated on the last Sunday before Pentecost, and emphasis was placed on their inspiration by the Holy Ghost.¹⁵² It is not surprising that the iconography of ecumenical councils has compositional similarities with that of Pentecost.¹⁵³ For example, a comparison between the miniature of Pentecost and that of the Second Ecumenical Council on folios 301r and 355r respectively of cod. Paris. gr. 510

145 On Monday and Tuesday, the lection was taken from Acts 2:14–21, on Wednesday from Acts 2:22–36, and on Thursday from Acts 2:38–43. See Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:98, 100, 102, 104. According to the *Typikon of the Savior*, (Arranz, *Saint-Sauveur*, 254), Acts 2:22 and 38 was read on Wednesday and Thursday after Easter, but in this typikon, Ps. 65 was not sung as an antiphon on those same days.

146 Mateos, *Grande Église*, 2:98.14.

147 See *ibid.*, 2:215, 219, for an index of all the feasts commemorating the apostles in which Ps. 18:5 was chanted. See also Tikkanen, *Psalterillustration* (n. 14 above), 35–36.

148 Fol. 17r. The same scene appears on fols. 19v–20r of the Theodore Psalter (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 7 above], 22, figs. 34–35), and fols. 32r–v of the Barberini Psalter (Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter* [n. 7 above], 67). A more concise version of the same scene appears on fol. 31r of the Bristol Psalter (Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* [n. 5 above], 55, pl. 49).

149 See, for example, the acts of the First Ecumenical Council, Mansi 2:777C; acts of the Third Ecumenical Council, Mansi 4:593B, 1144C–E, 1209C, 1284C; acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, Mansi 6:628A–B, 633A, 672E; acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, Mansi 11:497C, 685E, 709A, 720A–B, 937C (most recent edition by R. Riedinger, *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium*, Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, ser. 2, 2 vols. [Berlin, 1990], 474, 890, 850, 856); acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Mansi 12:1138E, Mansi 13:408A, E; Patriarch Nikephoros, *Epistola ad Leonem III papam*, PG 100:192B, *Apologeticus*, PG 100:540A, 564A, 597D, 616A–B, 741B, *Apologeticus minor*, PG 100:840C. See also J. Crehan, "Patristic Evidence for the Inspiration of Councils," *StP* 9 (Berlin, 1966), 210–15.

150 According to Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles* (n. 139 above), 235, this direct connection does not appear in Byzantine theology. However, in the acts of the First Ecumenical Council, Mansi 2:808A, it is said that by summoning the fathers of the council, Constantine I created "an image of the chorus of apostles" on the day of Pentecost. Reference is made to the ecumenical character of both events. It is even claimed that since *all* the participants in the council act in the name of God, their gathering is in a way superior to that of the people who had attended the events of Acts 2.

151 Mansi 4:1329E. The significance of this connection is noted, for example, by Evagrius in his *Ecclesiastical History*, J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, eds., *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia* (Amsterdam, 1964), 8:16–18 (1.3). He writes that the principal day of the council was the day of holy Pentecost, "when the life-giving spirit visited us from on high."

152 Mateos, *Grande Église* (n. 26 above), 2:130.

153 Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 234–35.

(figs. 4–5) reveals the following similarities: the semicircular disposition of the protagonists sitting on benches, other participants placed at the bottom corners of the page, and a throne with a book in a prominent position at the center. In the Pentecost scene, the throne above the apostles supports a closed book surmounted by the Holy Ghost. In the council scene, the throne in the middle between the Church Fathers supports an open Gospel book. This reflects the usual practice at ecumenical councils: the enthroned book stood for the presence of Christ and of the Holy Ghost who had inspired the scriptures and would also inspire the acts of the council.¹⁵⁴

Comparison of these two miniatures with that on folio 62v of the Chludov Psalter (fig. 3) makes it obvious that in the latter the throne with the open book relates more closely to the iconography of the ecumenical councils than to Pentecost. The throne is more a real object standing between the apostles than a symbol floating above their heads. The position of the throne among the apostles cannot be considered accidental, an accommodation made for the lack of space above the figures, where the throne normally appears in standard Pentecost iconography. There are numerous examples of Pentecost representations in Byzantine manuscripts and portable icons where the throne is omitted altogether from the composition because of lack of space.¹⁵⁵ Consequently, in the Chludov Psalter

154 Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 147–48, mentions that the enthronement of the Gospel as a symbol of the presence of Christ is attested in the Third Ecumenical Council (Ephesus, 431), while its display is also mentioned in three other ecumenical councils: the Fourth (Chalcedon, 451), the Sixth (Constantinople III, 680), and the Seventh (Nicaea II, 787), and also at the local councils of 860 and 869 at Constantinople. To these I add the reference to the Gospel in two letters related to the acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople II, 550), Mansi 9:188B, 189A and C. Walter notes “une brève allusion” to the presiding presence of the Gospel in the proceedings of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, but in reality the acts of this council give the most references to the presence of the Gospel: Mansi 11:324D, 381A, 460C, 521D, 553B, 585E, 605D, 616E, 629D (most recent edition by Riedinger, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum tertium*, 176, 266, 408, 522, 576, 636, 672, 694, 764). Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles*, 147, n. 145, mentions only two passages, Mansi 11:224E, 232D (Riedinger, *Concilium Constantinopolitanum Tertium*, 40, 50). On folio 16r of the Pantokrator Psalter, the Gospel is depicted on a bench amid the participants in the iconoclastic council of 815, attesting to the widespread usage of the display of the Gospel in ecclesiastical councils (Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning*, 212, with reference to further literature).

155 For example, in the nineteen depictions of Pentecost in



FIG. 4 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. gr. 510, folio 301r. Pentecost. Photo courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France.

the illustrated codices with the liturgical homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos examined by G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), 80–81. In four of these miniatures, lack of space has led to the representation of the scene not in its usual semicircular arrangement, but in a horizontal arrangement similar to that of the Chludov Psalter (figs. 48–49). In these cases the space available between the two groups of apostles could have allowed the depiction of the throne, which is, however, omitted. In the twelfth-century Pentecost mosaic in Santa Maria a Grottaferrata, an empty throne (with no Gospel or Holy Ghost) appears in the center of a horizontal composition flanked by two groups of apostles. However, this is a modern addition to the mosaic, and we do not know what was originally represented there. See E. Kitzinger, “The Mosaics in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo,” *ArtB* 31 (1949): 278–79 n. 55. Kitzinger sees



FIG. 5 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Cod. gr. 510, folio 355r. Second Ecumenical Council. Courtesy of Bibliothèque nationale de France.

eschatological connotations in the mosaic (allusions to the Last Judgment). These allusions would have been emphasized if the empty throne was originally represented among the apostles (as a reference to the future coming of the Judge), so this could be another case where the unusual placement of the throne in a Pentecost scene might point toward an additional layer of meaning. G. Matthiae, *I mosaici dell'Abbazia di Grottaferrata* (Rome, 1970), 270, suggests that this mosaic represents a *Pneumatos Parousia* (presence of the Holy Ghost, meaning, I assume, its continuous presence in the Church, and not just during Pentecost). I was not able to consult a copy of this publication; I retrieved the information from the brief mention of P. O. Folgero, "The Iconography of S. Maria a Grottaferrata: A Reading of the Pictorial Cycles in the Light of the Byzantine Liturgy and Mariology," *BollGrott* 66–67 [2002–3]: 257, n. 1). For representations of Pentecost in its semicircular arrangement without the throne in portable icons dated from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, see P. Vokotopoulos, *Ελληνική Τέχνη: Βυζαντινές Εικόνες* (Athens, 1995), figs. 18, 36, 42, 83, 86, 107, 113, 131.

the decision to depict the throne in a position at odds with conventional iconography of the scene indicates the intention to connect Pentecost with the ecumenical councils. While the dove belongs to the iconography of Pentecost, it also refers to the symbolism of the enthroned Gospel in the ecumenical councils, referring to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. In fact, in one instance the image of the enthroned Gospel surmounted by the Holy Ghost is definitely related to an ecumenical council. On folio 107v of the tenth-century cod. Paris. suppl. gr. 1085 (collection of ecclesiastical canons), such an image appears at the end of the canons of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, obviously intended to denote the divine inspiration of the relevant text.¹⁵⁶ Analogous allusions may be attributed to the Pentecost scene on folio 62v of the Chludov Psalter, where the composition is reminiscent of the enthroned Gospel amid the participants of the ecumenical councils. Such a choice is perfectly understandable in a manuscript well known for the polemically pro-Orthodox aspect of its illustration, and reminds us that liturgical inspiration is only one of many factors on which the creation of this illustration was based.

The polemical overtone of this Pentecost miniature (fig. 3) can be paralleled with and reinforced by the possible polemical overtone of the sounding of the semantron depicted right above. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, the iconophile patriarch of Constantinople Germanos states that the sounding of the semantron is not only a signal for the inauguration of the Divine Liturgy but also a warning for demons to keep away from the church. More precisely, the patriarch says that "the semantron represents the trumpets of the angels and calls the contestants to battle against the invisible enemies."¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the deacons in the Chludov Psalter may be perceived as if warning evil spirits to keep away from the Church all the year round, since they illustrate two psalms basic to the liturgical inauguration of the calendar and the ecclesiastical year. With their semantia, they prohibit the evil intruders from violating not only the space but also the time of the Church. Likewise, the ecumenical councils alluded to through the peculiar iconography

156 Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles* (n. 139 above), 61, fig. 28.

157 Meyendorff, *St. Germanos of Constantinople* (n. 81 above), 56–59 (§2).

of Pentecost were also summoned in order to protect the Church from demonic intruders, in other words the heretics, who were often considered to be agents of the devil and possessed by demons (an accusation frequently expressed in iconophile sources against the iconoclasts).¹⁵⁸ The complementary function of the two miniatures is even indicated by the reference signs connecting them to the relevant psalm verses: on the one hand, signs connect the deacons to both Psalms 64:14 and 65:1;¹⁵⁹ on the other hand, Pentecost is painted right below Psalm 65:4, while reference signs relate the apostles to the word “rams” of Psalm 64:14.¹⁶⁰ In other words, the same verse is related both to the deacons who lead the congregation in the inauguration of the calendar and liturgical cycles, and to the apostles who are inspired to lead the people of the earth in the inauguration of the ecumenical Church of Christ. In combination, the two miniatures on this page of the Chludov Psalter mutually enhance the significance and polemical aspect of their message: the Christian Church inaugurated at Pentecost is constantly safeguarded by the ecumenical councils and

by the orderly and solemn celebration of the Divine Liturgy, both of which are based on sacred traditions and divine inspiration. The allusion to the perpetual liturgical cycle of the Church through the figures of the deacons reveals the contemporary and continuous relevance of Pentecost for the life of the Church. As in the inauguration of ecumenical Christianity (Pentecost) and in the reaffirmation of its ecumenical Orthodox doctrines (the councils), the Holy Ghost descends to bestow divine grace on God’s people in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy (the central event in the life of the Church). In fact, the belief of the Orthodox Church in the descent of the Holy Ghost during the Divine Liturgy is considered a main reason for the representation of Pentecost or of the *Hetoimasia* of the throne in the bema of Byzantine churches.¹⁶¹ Folio 62v of the Chludov Psalter presents a different visual expression of the same idea, with emphasis on the polemical significance of the Divine Liturgy and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the fight against evil spirits (repelled by the semantra) and heretics (condemned by the ecumenical councils).

This illustration is characteristic of the sophistication and complexity of liturgical influence and its use in the service of pro-Orthodox polemics in the Byzantine marginal psalters. In this case, the influence of the liturgy is not restricted to the choice of subject matter on the basis of the use of psalm verses in specific feasts, but extends to the visualization of liturgical ceremony (semantron-sounding) and, more importantly, to iconographic choices that reflect liturgical symbolism, significance, and theology. Another example of the interaction between liturgical influence and pro-Orthodox or specifically iconophile polemics is detected in the last miniature examined here, which makes reference to the sacraments of baptism and exorcism.

The Illustration of Psalm 67 in the Chludov Psalter

Folio 65r of the Chludov Psalter is one of the most densely illuminated in the entire codex (fig. 6). Three different verses of Psalm 67 are illustrated with three separate, yet interrelated compositions: an icon of

158 Such accusations are in line with the long tradition of Christian authors naming the devil and his legions as the instigators of disorder, sin, and heresy. See, for example, John of Damascus, *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, in *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, ed. B. Kotter (Berlin–New York, 1975), 3:69 (2.2, 3.1), 71 (2.4, 3.1–2), 72–73 (2.6, 3.3), 124 (3.13); acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Mansi 13:60D–61B, 205A–B, 225E; Patriarch Nikephoros, *Antirrheticus* 3, PG 100:400A, 493B, 513C, *Apologeticus*, PG 100:573B–C, 580B, 601B–604A, 605B, 621A, 629D–632A, 641B, 645A, 704B, 716B, 745A, *Refutatio et eversio*, ed. Featherstone (n. 123 above), 12 (§6:58–59), 13 (§7:26–27), 20 (§10:48–49), 42 (§19:52–55), 196 (§111:51–70), 198 (§112:21–22). For examples from other Christian texts see: Epiphanius of Cyprus, *Panarion*, PG 41:368A, 545D, 673D, 857A, 1065C; acts of the ecumenical councils, for example the sixth, Mansi 11:629E, 636A, 660D–E, 697C–D, 728D, 732D–E, 736C. See also C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 159–64, for Byzantine beliefs relating demons to disorder and heresy. The accusation that heretics are possessed by demons is visualized in five miniatures of the Chludov Psalter, where the iconoclasts are shown with the wild hair of demoniacs, or inspired by evil spirits standing next to them (fols. 23v, 35v, 51v, 67r, 67v).

159 See nn. 128 and 137 above.

160 In the facsimile edition of the Chludov Psalter by Ščepkina, there are two reference signs visible above the two groups of the apostles that appear to be similar to a sign above the word “rams” of Ps. 64:14. In the new facsimile edition published after the manuscript’s recent restoration (*Salterio Chludov* [Madrid, 2006]), the signs above the apostles are hardly visible.

161 Mantas, *Τὸ εἰκονογραφικὸ πρόγραμμα τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος* (n. 139 above), 202–15.

Saint Paul, Christ's greatest exorcism miracle evolving around it, and below them, the story of the Ethiopian eunuch baptized by the apostle Philip. The first and the last composition are fully justified by patristic exegesis of the respective psalm verses. Verse 28, "There is Benjamin, the youngest, ecstatic," was interpreted in psalm commentaries as a reference to Saint Paul because he descended from the tribe of Benjamin (Romans 11:1, Philippians 3:5), was the last summoned of the Apostles ("the youngest"), and had intense visionary experiences alluded to by the word "ecstatic."¹⁶² The icon on folio 65r is inscribed "Benjamin" (BENIAMIN), but the portrait type is that of Saint Paul, with his long dark beard and bald head, holding a codex. In the relevant miniature on folio 85r of the Pantokrator Psalter, a medallion with a similar figure is actually inscribed "Saint Paul" (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ).¹⁶³ Psalm 67 no longer survives in the Paris marginal Psalter.¹⁶⁴ Verse 32, "and Ethiopia will stretch out her hand to God," was commonly interpreted in the psalm commentaries as foretelling Acts 8:26–40, which narrates how Philip baptized an Ethiopian eunuch in the name of Christ.¹⁶⁵ At the lower left part of folio 65r, the apostle meets the eunuch who is shown on a chariot reading the prophecies of Isaiah on his way home from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After Philip has taught the man to understand the real meaning of the text and its fulfillment in the Incarnation and Passion of Jesus, the eunuch asks to be baptized in the name of Christ. This is represented on the lower right part of the folio.¹⁶⁶

The exorcism miracle depicted on the same folio is only indirectly related to psalm commentaries. Verse

31 reads: "Rebuke the wild beasts of the reed." Since certain psalm commentators identify the "wild beasts" with demons and the devil, it is not surprising that the artist illustrated their "rebuking" with a scene of exorcism.¹⁶⁷ However, many more psalm verses were interpreted as references to the devil or demons but were not illustrated accordingly in the Chludov Psalter, so the attention given to Psalm 67:31 needs further consideration. The specific identity of this exorcism episode will be our starting point in this investigation. Since one of the demons departing at Christ's command from the previously possessed man is inscribed "Legion" (ΛΕΓΙΩΝ)¹⁶⁸ and the unclean spirits are headed toward two pigs, this miniature illustrates Mark 5:1–20, according to which Jesus freed an inhabitant of Gerasos from a multitude of demons (appropriately named Legion) that subsequently possessed a herd of swine, causing them to fall over a precipice and drown in the waters below. This was considered to be Christ's greatest exorcism miracle, since the expelled demons were numerous, and before being driven away they recognized Christ as the "Son of the most high God" (Mark 5:7).¹⁶⁹ Two psalm commentators connect verse 2 of Psalm 67 with this particular exorcism miracle.¹⁷⁰ The person who planned the illustration on folio 65r of the Chludov Psalter may have been inspired by these commentaries, but he related the interpretation to a different verse (31), whose wording is even more fitting: "rebuke the wild beasts," instead of "rise and let your enemies disperse" as in verse 2, which is illustrated in the Chludov Psalter with the Anastasis. However, liturgical sources related to the sacraments of exorcism and baptism might have had a greater influence in the

162 Origen, *Selecta in psalmos*, PG 12:1509; Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:712; Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:301B–C; Pseudo-Athanasios, *De titulis psalmorum*, PG 27:917 (according to *CPG* 3:6552, this work is now attributed to Hesychios of Jerusalem); Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:1156; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:1393.

163 Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs* (n. 5 above), 27, pl. 11. Likewise on folio 106v of the Bristol Psalter, *ibid.*, 60, pl. 53.

164 *Ibid.*, 41.

165 Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:717; Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:303C; Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:1160; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:1393.

166 The same scenes illustrate Ps. 67:32 on folio 85v of the Pantokrator Psalter; see Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 27, pl. 11.

167 Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:713–16; Athanasios, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 27:303A; Pseudo-Athanasios, *De titulis psalmorum*, PG 27:920; Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:1157.

168 Mistakenly transcribed as ΧΕΡΕΩΝ in Ščepkina, *Miniatiury* (n. 4 above).

169 According to Mark 5:12–13, the legion of demons asked Christ's permission to possess the herd of approximately two thousand swine grazing close by. This detail is probably mentioned in order to indicate the great number of demons expelled by Christ and emphasize the magnitude of his miracle. A similar miracle is mentioned by Matthew 8:28–34 (the healing of the two demoniacs of Gadara).

170 Eusebios, *Commentaria in psalmos*, PG 23:679–81, and Pseudo-Athanasios, *De titulis psalmorum*, PG 27:912.



FIG. 6 Moscow, State Historical Museum. Cod. 129, Chludov Psalter, folio 65r, Psalm 67:28, 31, 32. Icon of St Paul; Christ expels the legion of demons from the Gerasene; Philip meets the Ethiopian eunuch and baptizes him. Courtesy of the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

conception and perception of this composition and its connection with the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch.

In the rite followed today by the Greek Orthodox Church in cases of exorcism, Psalm 67 is recited in full.¹⁷¹ The same rite includes a prayer attributed to John Chrysostom, in which the only specific exorcism miracle mentioned is that of the Gerasene, as the most memorable and powerful of such miracles performed by Christ.¹⁷² The difficulty here is to determine whether modern Orthodox practice can be traced back to the Byzantine period. In the euchologion published by Jacob Goar in 1730, based on Byzantine manuscripts of the eighth to eleventh centuries, Psalm 67 is indeed mentioned among those used when praying for a sick person possessed by demons. In that edition, an exorcism prayer attributed to John Chrysostom is similar to the one used today and includes a specific reference to the miracle of the Gerasene.¹⁷³ The combined reference to Psalm 67 and Mark 5:1–20 in the same context of exorcism may have been a source of inspiration for the illustration of verse 31 on folio 65r of the Chludov Psalter with the miracle of the Gerasene. Moreover, the choice to represent this exorcism episode on the same folio as the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch might have been inspired by the combined mention of these two New Testament events in the texts employed at the baptismal rite.

According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, the passage from Acts 8:26–40 narrating the baptism performed by Philip was one of the New Testament

readings in the Byzantine rite of baptism.¹⁷⁴ The exorcism of demons that might have held the soul of the catechumen under their influence before his or her baptism was a basic theme in the Christian rite of initiation.¹⁷⁵ According to the eighth-century Barberini Euchologion, the second of the three exorcism prayers recited at the beginning of the baptismal rite included a reference to the miraculous expulsion of the multitude of demons narrated in Mark 5:1–20.¹⁷⁶ Specific mention is made of the fact that the demons asked Christ's permission to possess the swine (Mark 5:12–13). This was considered proof of their powerlessness and by analogy implied that their expulsion during the baptismal rite would be equally successful.¹⁷⁷ The above evidence suggests that the expulsion of the unclean spirits on folio 65r of the Chludov Psalter may be seen as complementary to the Ethiopian's baptism as a reference to the rebuking and expelling of demons in the rite of baptism. In this context, it is particularly significant that in the Gospel narrative the swine and the demons end up drowned in a lake after falling off a precipice (Mark 5:13). Their disappearance into

174 Mateos, *Grande Église* (n. 26 above), 1:186; 2:62, 138.

175 Cf. John Chrysostom, *Eight baptismal catecheses*, in *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites*, ed. and trans. A. Wenger, 2nd ed., SC 50 (Paris, 1970), 139–40 (2.12); idem, *Three Baptismal Catecheses*, in *Trois catéchèses baptismales*, ed. and trans. A. Piédagnel and L. Doutreleau, SC 366 (Paris, 1990), 44–46, 188–94 (2.6–7). The expulsion of demons is a very prominent element in today's Greek Orthodox baptismal rite, closely following the Byzantine tradition (*Euchologion*, 79ff.). For the importance of exorcism in the early Christian baptismal rite, see also the various references to primary sources and secondary literature by A. J. Wharton, "Ritual and Reconstructed Meaning: The Neonian Baptistry in Ravenna," *ArtB* 59 (1987): 358–75, esp. 361 and nn. 13–18.

176 Parenti and Velkovska, *L'eucologio Barberini* (n. 79 above), 102. Again, two specific exorcism miracles are mentioned: Mark 5:1–20 (esp. 5:12, demons asking permission to possess the herd of swine), as well as Mark 9:15–29 (esp. 9:25, the exorcism and healing of a deaf-mute boy). The editors identify the first miracle as Matthew 8:30–32, where demons possessing two men from Gadara ask Christ's permission to enter into a herd of swine. However, the vocabulary employed in the euchologion (see next note) is closer to the language used in Mark 5 (compare εἰσελθεῖν of the euchologion with εἰσελθόμεν and εἰσῆλθον of Mark 5:12–13, as opposed to ἀπόστειλον and ἀπῆλθον of Matthew 8:31–32).

177 Parenti and Velkovska, *L'eucologio Barberini*, 102: "ἀναχώρησον, γνώρισον τὴν σὴν ματαίαν δύναμιν τὴν μηδὲ χοίρων ἐχουσάν ἐξουσίαν· ὑπομνήσθητι τοῦ ἐπιτάξαντός σοι κατὰ τὴν σὴν αἰτησιν εἰς τὴν ἀγέλην τῶν χοίρων εἰσελθεῖν." See *Euchologion* (n. 171 above), 81.

171 *Μικρὸν εὐχολόγιον ἢ ἀγιασματάριον* (from now on referred to as *Euchologion*), Ἐκδόσις τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 13th ed. (Athens, 1998), 288–91.

172 Ibid., 312.

173 J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1730; repr. Graz, 1960), 575, 582e. On page 584, another exorcism prayer makes the same specific reference to Mark 5:1–20 (esp. 5:8–9, the expulsion of the legion of demons), as well as to Mark 9:15–29 (esp. 9:25, the exorcism and healing of a deaf-mute boy). This prayer is also found in the Barberini Euchologion of the 8th c. (Parenti and Velkovska, *L'eucologio Barberini* [n. 79 above], 226–27, prayer 207). For the dating of the manuscripts used by Goar (which include the Barberini Euchologion) see L. Delatte, *Un office Byzantin d'exorcisme* (*Ms. de la Lavra du Mont Athos*, 20) (Brussels, 1954), 10 (the manuscript published by Delatte is of the 18th c.). The use of Psalm 67 to repel demons is attested quite early, for example, in the life of St. Anthony the Great, 13.7, G. J. M. Bartelink, ed., *Athanase d'Alexandrie: Vie d'Antoine*, SC 400 (Paris, 2004), 172.

water may be an allusion to the purification of the soul and the washing away of all sins by the holy water of baptism, as shown on folio 65r by the story of the Ethiopian eunuch. Just as exorcism and baptism are complementary in the rite of initiation, so the episode of the eunuch's baptism complements the scene of the Gerasene's exorcism, denoting that the water that washes away the sins of the Ethiopian also removes the evil embodied in the demons and swine. On these grounds, one might see a liturgical influence on the iconography of this page aside from the influence of psalm commentaries.

A further consideration in the analysis of these Chludov miniatures is the homily by Gregory of Nazianzos, *In sanctum baptisma*, which was read in the Byzantine liturgy on 7 January.¹⁷⁸ Gregory speaks of the unclean spirit expelled from the initiate during baptism: fearing the water, it drowns in it, just like the legion of demons in the exorcism of the Gerasene.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, Gregory presents the mystery of baptism as a re-enactment of the incident narrated in Acts 8:26–40. “I am Philip,” he makes the priest say. “Become Candaces (the Ethiopian eunuch),” he prompts the person to be baptized, adding: “even if you were Ethiopian in the body, you shall be whitened in the soul.”¹⁸⁰ This provides an additional reason for arguing that the association between the two New Testament episodes on folio 65r of the Chludov Psalter was familiar to Byzantine viewers, especially in the liturgical context of the baptismal rite and celebration.

The correlation of the exorcism miracle and the Ethiopian's baptism by common reference to the cleansing of the soul in the water, where sins and evil spirits drown, is even more obvious in the illustration of the same psalm verses in the eleventh-century

Theodore and Barberini Psalters. In these two codices, Psalm 65:28 is illustrated with an icon of Saint Paul on folios 84v and 111v respectively.¹⁸¹ Here the miniature is separated from the illustration of verses 31–32, the miracle and baptism scenes being shown on the facing folios, 85r (fig. 7) and 112r respectively.¹⁸² For this reason, the exorcism of the Gerasene does not evolve around Saint Paul's icon, as in the Chludov miniature. Instead, the two eleventh-century codices depict the miracle in its standard iconographic type, with the demons and swine heading toward the water below the feet of Christ and the Gerasene (not above them and around Paul's icon, as in the Chludov Psalter).¹⁸³ Appearing directly above the Ethiopian's head, as if about to fall into the same water in which he is being baptized and purified from sin, the demons and swine also seem to represent the evil spirits destroyed by the man's baptism. In the two eleventh-century psalters, the baptismal and consequently liturgical allusions in the illustration of Psalm 67:31–32 are more accentuated. On the contrary, in the Chludov Psalter the scenes are arranged so as to highlight the iconophile message of the composition at the expense of liturgical allusions: the demons and swine do not head downward (as in the standard iconography of the scene) and toward the baptism scene below, but move upward and around Paul's icon. As I suggest elsewhere, this was probably a conscious iconographic choice, indicating that the icon participates in the exorcism miracle.

181 Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 37, pl. 137; Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter*, 96 (both n. 7 above).

182 Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs*, 37, pl. 138; Anderson, Canart, and Walter, *Barberini Psalter*, 97.

183 For examples of the standard iconography (according to which the swine are represented below or next to Christ and the Gerasene, but not above them), see the following: an ivory plaque with Christ's miracles dated in the fifth century and attributed to a workshop in Rome (*Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, exhibition catalogue, ed. K. Weitzmann [New York, 1979], 446–47, cat. no. 407); the miniature on fol. 212v of cod. Paris. gr. 923 (K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus Graecus 923* [Princeton, 1979], fig. 447); fols. 16v and 70v of the eleventh-century Constantinopolitan cod. Laur. VI. 23, which illustrate Matthew 8:28–34 and Mark 5:6–10 (T. Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne, Florence, Laur. VI. 23*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 6 [Paris, 1971], 23, 35, figs. 26, 140); fol. 156r of the thirteenth-century cod. 5 of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos (Pelekaniadou, *Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους* [n. 5 above], 2:300, fig. 24).

178 Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* (n. 155 above), 11. See also *ibid.*, 10 for the issue of the date of the liturgical collection of Gregory's homilies. The two ninth-century codices mentioned in Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, n. 20 do not include the homily *In sanctum baptisma*. According to the *Typikon of the Great Church*, (Mateos, *Grande Église* [n. 26 above], 1:190–91), on 7 January the lections were from Acts 19:1–8 and John 1:29–34, both referring to the baptism of those who believe in Christ.

179 PG 36:409A.

180 PG 36:396A. In the Greek text of Acts 8:27, “ἄνθρωπος Αἰθίοψ εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης Κανδάκης βασιλίσσης Αἰθιοπῶν,” it is not clear if Candaces is the name of the eunuch (as in Gregory's homily) or of his queen (as according to the translation in the *Interlinear Greek-English New Testament*, ed. A. Marshall [Grand Rapids, 1976], 500).



FIG. 7 London, British Library. Cod. Add. 19352, Theodore Psalter, folio 85r, Psalm 67:31, 32. Christ expels the legion of demons from the Gerasene; Philip meets the Ethiopian eunuch and baptizes him. Courtesy of the British Library.

The resulting message is that icons are not demonic objects, as the iconoclasts claimed, but on the contrary are so holy that they can drive away demons. On a second level, the juxtaposition of the icon and the exorcised demons probably alludes to the victory of the iconophiles over the demonic iconoclasts and the expulsion of the latter from the body of the Orthodox Church (an event compared to exorcism in the iconophile sources).¹⁸⁴ In a similar vein, the baptism and cleansing of the Ethiopian eunuch could be perceived as an allusion to the purification of the Church from the darkness of heresy. Because of their dark skin, Ethiopians were often used as symbols of sin and heresy in psalm commentaries, homilies, and other early Christian and Byzantine texts, including iconophile literature.¹⁸⁵ This symbolism could have prompted a

typological reading of the Ethiopian's baptism in the Chludov Psalter as a reference to the cleansing of the Church from the heresy of iconoclasm, in analogy to the exorcism miracle above it, which most probably has this meaning because of its interaction with Paul's icon. To conclude, the complex illustration of folio 65r in the Chludov Psalter provides another example of multilayered references in ninth-century marginal psalter illustration. It also demonstrates that liturgical influence may lie at the basis of a thematic conception of images, but iconophile polemics shaped the final result and its perception.



The conclusion drawn from the above analysis is that liturgical influence on the illustration of the ninth-century marginal psalters was indeed extensive and was inextricably linked with the iconophile agenda of these manuscripts' illustration. This prominent liturgical influence is justified not only by the pervasive use of the psalms in the Byzantine rite and by the regular participation of the clergymen who designed and used these psalters in Church services. It is also justified by the central role of the liturgy in the spiritual life of the Church, and especially in the continuous proclamation, celebration, dissemination, and protection of Orthodox dogma, a mission which was also served by the theological rigor and iconophile emphasis of illustration in the ninth-century Byzantine psalters.

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184 For a detailed analysis of the above reading, see Evangelatou, "Virtuous Soul, Healthy Body" (n. 123, above), 192–96.

185 It is not uncommon in Byzantine literature to speak about demons in the form of "Ethiopians," a word used to refer to black-skinned figures in general (and not necessarily inhabitants of Ethiopia). See for example G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961), 48, s.v. Αἰθίοψ; T. Provatakis, *Ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν τέχνην* (Thessalonike, 1980), 50, 52–54. (For the relation of iconoclasts to demons see n. 158 above.) In psalm commentaries, the Ethiopians mentioned in Psalms 71:9, 73:14, and 86:4 are interpreted as men with black souls ignorant of the divine light (Cyril, *Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:1181C, 1188A; Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos*, PG 80:1464A, 1565B). Talking about Psalm 67:32 in particular (the verse illustrated on folio 65r of the Chludov Psalter), Cyril considers Ethiopia "stretching out her hand to God" to be a reference to nations that are dark in sin and ask to be saved by the Lord (*Expositio in psalmos*, PG 69:1166B). Epiphanius of Cyprus considers the Ethiopians of Psalm 73:14 to be heretics darkened by sin (*Panarion*, PG 41:357C). More importantly, the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos* mentions a vision in which an Ethiopian who cuts down an olive tree from the ambo of Hagia Sophia stands for the iconoclast Patriarch Theodotos (815–21), who succeeded the deposed iconophile Patriarch Nikephoros. See *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and Related Texts*, ed. and trans. J. A. Munitiz et al. (Camberley, 1997), 73–75 (§12.a–f). The extent to which references like these reflected or shaped perceptions of race in Byzantium still awaits a systematic and comprehensive investigation.